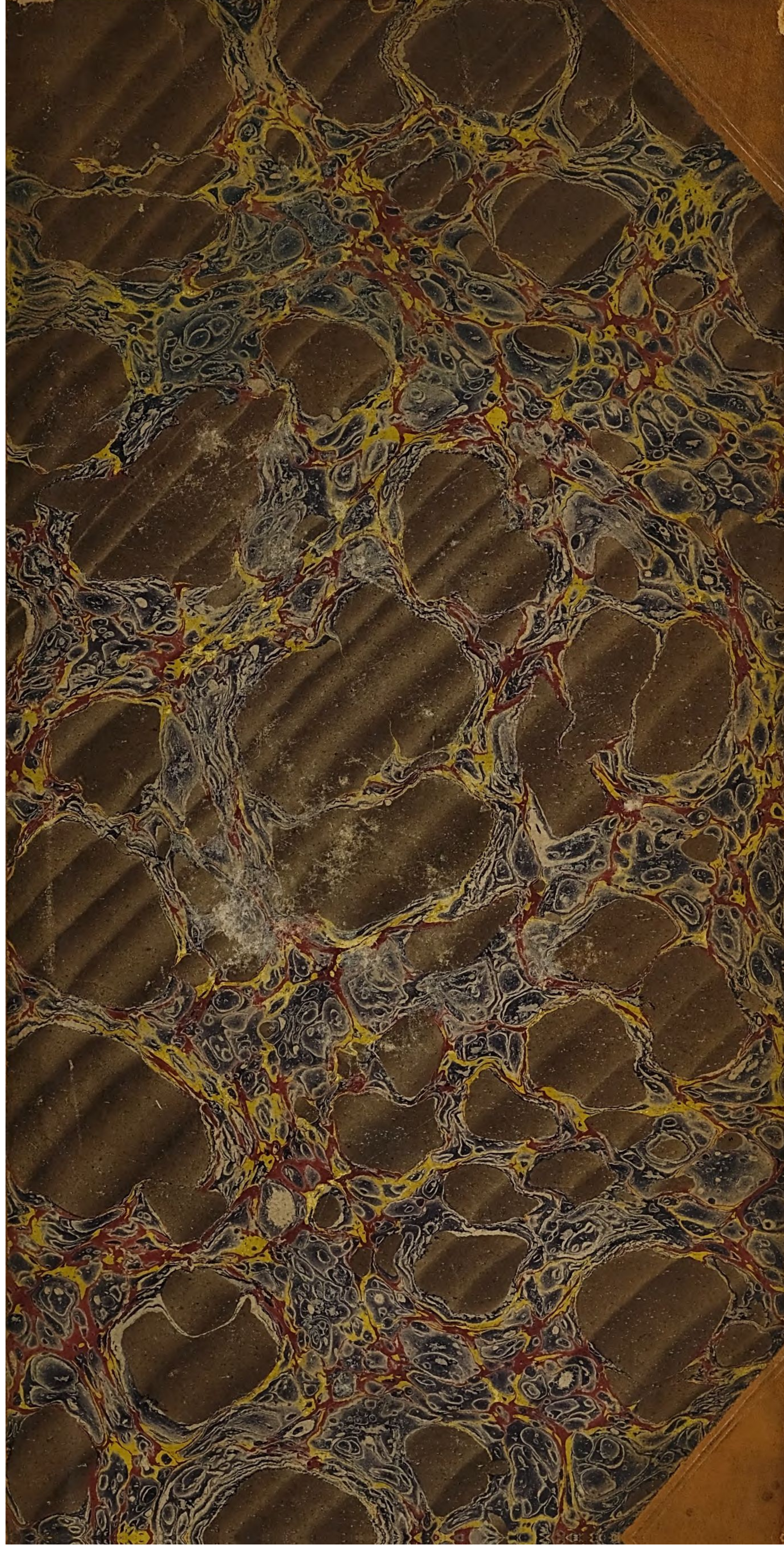
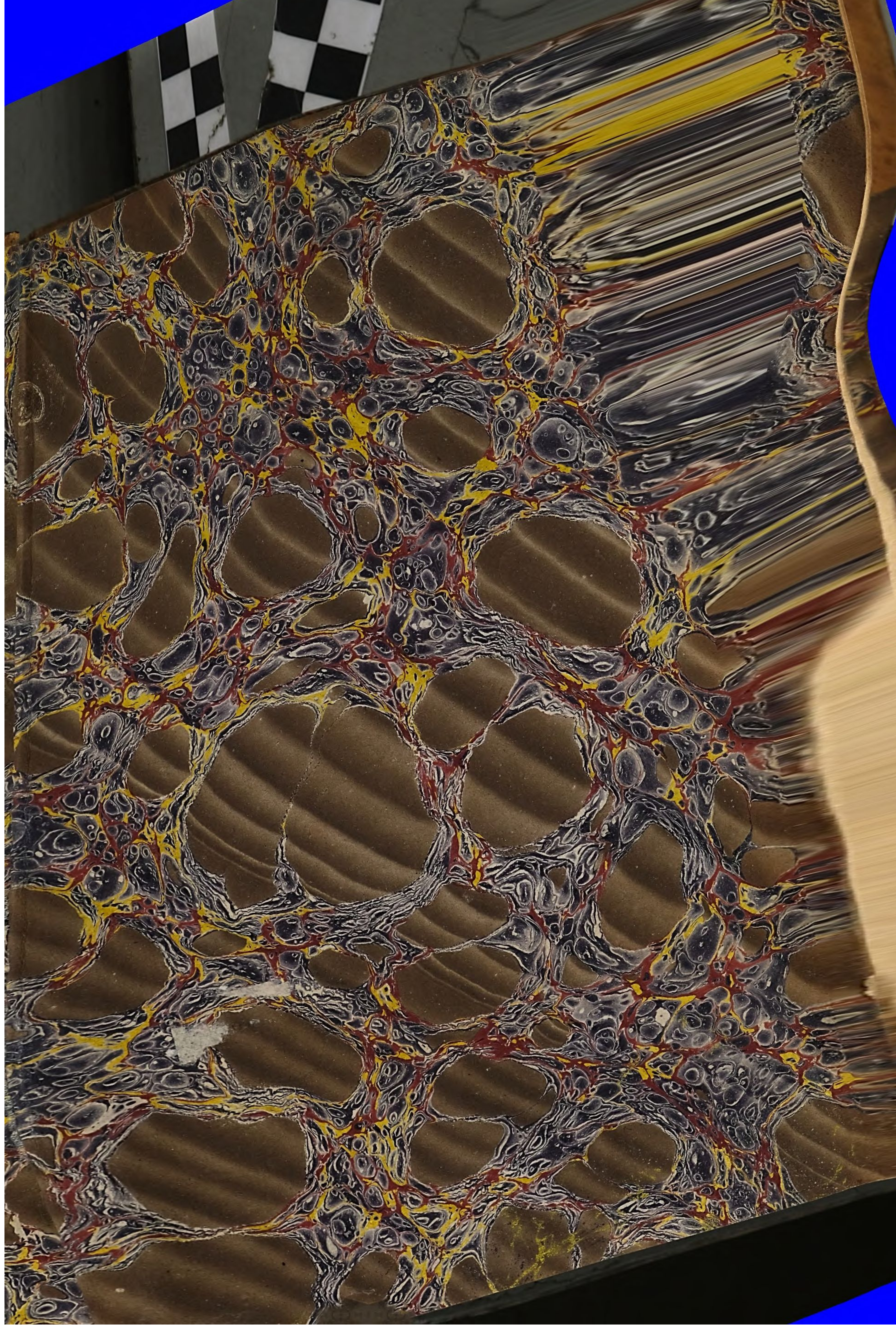






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JOHN THURLOW.
SECRETARY OF STATE TO CROMWELL.

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1838.*

THE
PROTECTORATE
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL,
AND
THE STATE OF EUROPE
DURING
THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

ILLUSTRATED
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS
BETWEEN
DR. JOHN PELL, RESIDENT AMBASSADOR WITH THE SWISS CANTONS,
SIR SAMUEL MORLAND, SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART, MR. SECRETARY THURLOE,
AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE TIME.

Now first published from the Originals.

EDITED BY
ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
ON THE
CHARACTER OF CROMWELL, AND OF HIS TIMES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTERS,

ETC.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, August 7th, 1656.

SIR,—By the last post I wrote that at Baden the deputies of these cantons were expecting what sentence the arbitrators would pronounce ; and that at Zurich they had almost finished the scanning of their new draught of articles for a renewed league with France. The same day, after the post was gone hence, two of their senators visited the English resident, telling him that the senate had sent them to let him understand that those new articles had been also approved by their several tribes of this city ; and, thereupon, by order of their senate of two hundred, the copy was sent to their deputies at Baden, with instructions for the treating with the deputies of the other cantons to move them to join with them in that form of league so altered ; that the said senate thought it not convenient to send him a copy of it, till they knew how the other cantons would like those changes. In the mean-

time, the senate had commanded them to acquaint him with the heads of each article, which they did immediately, and afterward promised him a copy of them at large, as soon as they knew the mind of the other cantons. They had not then sent copies of the same to the several protestant cantons, but it was done the next day. Neither the cantons nor their Baden deputies have as yet returned any answer hither that I hear of; only from Baden the Zurich deputies write, that they think it not fit to urge the arbitrators to make more haste than good speed in their sentence, being a business of so great consequence. But in the French treaty, it is not likely that the deputies at Baden can say much to the Zurich alterations, till they receive new instructions from the senates that sent them thither.

August the 1st, the Venetian resident gave the English resident a visit, and acquainted him with the news of the victory which, last June 16th-26th, the Venetian fleet had over the Turkish. Two days after, with street-fires, he gave this whole town occasion to speak of it. The extraordinary courier that brought him the first news posted into France with other letters for that court; the ordinary that came since brought him a relation of that sea-fight, printed at Venice by the duke's printer. I have sent Mr. Morland a copy of it, but perhaps he will not think it necessary to send it to Whitehall, because the Venetian resident at London will

not be backward to make known tidings of that nature.

Sir, yours of the 17th of July is come to your faithful servant.

From a sure hand at Insbrug. The emperor intends to send into Italy this summer no small number of horse and foot. Their major-general had audience here, July 28th, old style; he desired that the said imperial forces may pass through the Tyrol, which was granted; so that we look to see them in this country shortly.

From Chur, in Rhætia, Aug. 5.—Last Friday, we had here a courier, who had been sent from Vienna to Milan, to assure that city that the emperor was resolved to send nine thousand foot and three thousand horse against the Duke of Modena, because he, being a feudatory of the empire, had exercised hostility against the duchy of Milan, which is also a fee of the empire.

The young Count Casati went hence the next day towards Insbrug, to order the soldiers' way, and the places where they should rest; some of them are to pass through the Valtolin and some through the Engadin.

From Norimberg.—The emperor hath already crossed the French in the Low Countries; he is now sending twelve or fourteen thousand men to stop them in Lombardy; the rest of his forces are to march into Silesia, where his brother the Archduke Leopold shall be generalissimo.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, August 7th-17th.

SIR,—Besides that which Mr. Secretary wrote to you in the letter whereof you sent me a copy the last week, in his to me of the same date, he writes

thus :—" The ratification was delayed till our fleet came before Lisbon river, and then the king, not knowing what their intentions might be, signed the peace and paid the 50,000*l*. The Spaniard hath a very great army at land to defend himself."

Other letters from London, of the same date, say, " That there had been newly a general muster of the foot, with an intention to block up Dunkirk ; the next week after that, in the Thames, some Dutch ships had been arrested for importing prohibited Spanish wares. That the peace between us and Portugal shall not be published in England till the English agent be safely returned to London."

August 3rd, the Venetian resident made fires of joy at Zurich for the victory described in the papers which I send you herewith. I know not whether it be necessary that you send them to Whitehall, because the Venetian resident that is there will be forward enough to make known any tidings of that nature.

August 4th, Mr. Grassel brought a greeting from yourself, and from Mr. Tronchin, to your faithful servant,

JOHN PELL.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 12th August, old style, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 7th-17th August, and therein enclosed one for M. A. P.,

and another for Colonel Lockhart (both which I shall faithfully send by the ordinary post to-morrow morning), as likewise three Italian papers, for which I return you most humble and hearty thanks, and shall communicate into England the substance of them, at least, all those things which I shall conceive to be any way considerable, as I have hitherto done the other Italian papers, which you have been pleased formerly to send me. All that I have received this week from the court (that is, from Mr. Secretary), I have sent you here enclosed. From Colonel Lockhart I have received nothing. I have received this week a letter from Mr. Sadler, who has commanded me to present you with his most kind salutation ; and because it might be the more authentic, I have sent you enclosed the form thereof, written with his own hand, which I cut off from the letter. Here is nothing of news, but that the Queen Christina of Sweden is passed into France through Lyons to finish her comedy ; I wish it have not in the end a sad catastrophe. The time calls upon me to make an end, but I cannot leave off without assuring you that I am, in all sincerity, Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, August 14-24, 1656.

SIR,—In my last week's letter, I wrote that the Zurich draught of articles was sent to their deputies at Baden. They shewed it to the other deputies, August 4th; some of them seemed much pleased with it, others disliked some parts of it; but at the last they all agreed that it should be presented, in the name of all the protestant cantons, to the French ambassador, together with a memorial of their arrears, demands, &c. This was done August 7-17. He presently commanded his interpreter to translate them both into French against the next morning. He sent them an answer in writing, August 8-18; wherein, amongst other things, he told them, that he liked their draught so ill, that he should be sorry that ever the king should know the contents of it. They told his secretary that brought it, that they expected that the ambassador should have shewn them the translation, and heard their reasons for all these alterations, &c. The secretary answered, that he would send them the copies of the French translations of their papers, &c.

The next day, August 9-19, they sent the ambassador a short reply in writing, wherein they said, they made some question whether they should acquaint their principals with his answer, yet they

would, &c. He sent back no answer to this, but went away from Baden, August 10-20, towards Soloturn.

The next day, the arbitrators delivered to the deputies of Zurich, &c., their recess, or final resolution for that time, and so concluded that session ; telling them, that they desire to meet alone the next time to consider all that hath been exhibited. So that there will be no more meetings of the adverse parties till the arbitrators call for them ; thus that assembly was dissolved August 11-21, afternoon.

Yesterday, the two hundred of Zurich met, and heard their deputies make a report of that which had been done all this while at Baden. That report being finished, they appointed their chief secretary to go to the English resident, and to make the like report to him, as also to give him copies of the principal papers of Baden, some of which he hath delivered ; but none of them can be translated and sent to Whitehall before the post go away to-day.

The last week, there came no letters out of England to your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, August 14-24.

SIR,—I thank you for conveying Colonel Lockhart's letter to me ; in it he makes no mention of

Piedmont. You write that the poor people there must of necessity perish, without a speedy deliverance. I conceived them out of danger of perishing, if they would sell their lands beyond the river Pelice, and live according to the late treaty ; which some would advise them to do, rather than to pull inevitable ruin upon themselves. But there are others of another opinion, whose reasons I never heard.

I give you thanks for your care of my money business with Mr. James Tronchin. If he had had any certain and ordinary correspondent in London, I could have given order to my wife to pay him whatsoever she receives. Four hundred pounds are due, but I doubt she will not get it all at one payment.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

14th August, 1656.

SIR,—Affairs here have been of late, and still are, so quiet, that it is not worth while for me to write, or you to read, the occurrences here, which is the cause you have not of late heard from me ; and this now is but to let you know of the receipt of all yours, and to give you some answer to a demand formerly made, whether the protestant cantons were concluded

in the peace with France. They are not included, not but that his highness did endeavour it, but the French refused, unless we also would include the popish cantons, which his highness was unwilling to do, and so that matter rests.

The general election for the parliament is the next Wednesday; there is much expectation of what that parliament will do; we hope it will settle.

I suppose it is no news to you to tell you of the great defeat given to the Turks by the Venetians, near the Dardanelles, nor of the victory obtained by the Swedes upon the King of Poland, near Warsaw, upon the 29th or 30th of July, the particulars whereof we have not yet received, and for the certainty of the thing, we expect the next week's confirmation, this being the first news. The French have lost Condé to the King of Spain. I am, Sir, your most affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, August 21-31.

SIR,—Three of the Baden papers, mentioned in my last, I have sent this week to you, but not immediately.

The arbitrators' recess I have sent to Mr. Morland in High Dutch, for he desires to have all such

papers in their original language. He will easily get it turned into French at Geneva. I have advised him to send Col. Lockhart the French translation of it ; but to send it in English to Whitehall.

The two other papers I have sent to Colonel Lockhart in French, praying him to send them to you, either as they are, or Englished. One of them is a memorial of those things which the protestant cantons would have done by the French king, before they will ratify the renewed league. The other is the French ambassador's answer, both to that memorial, and to their project or draught of the articles for the league.

The protestant cantons desire that these papers of theirs may not be made common. When the chief secretary of Zurich delivered them to the English resident to be communicated to Colonel Lockhart, and to Whitehall, he prayed him that nothing of them might be put into the English Courants and Mercuries, as being not yet ripe for the public view. If I cannot get a translation of the whole draught against the next week, I shall endeavour to send you the sum or heads of the articles, though the French ambassador accounts all that labour lost ; for he says, his king will never accept such a league. He would not have them change one word of the old one, save Louis XIV. for Henry IV., and the like. On the contrary, Zurich will not hear of the old alliance, nor will they be

brought to a new one, unless it be very unlike the old.

By that time that this letter comes to your hand, the beginning of the parliament will be so near, that nobody at Whitehall will be at leisure to hearken to these disputes in Switzerland concerning a league, which, for aught I see, will not be concluded before the end of this year.

The emperor is treating with our neighbours the Grisons for passage for his forces into Italy, against the Duke of Modena. Some are already passed through that country.

Yesterday, we here received probable relations of the Swedes' and Brandenburgers' victory over the Poles and Tartars, July 21-31, between Warsaw and Lublin.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, August 28th, 1656.

SIR,—At the usual time, I received yours of the 19th *hujus*, with your German letter to the Antistes ; Mr. Tirbank's letters to you and to me, both of the same tenour ; and Mr. Aldworth's letter to us jointly, enclosing another from General Montagu to us jointly. To which I wrote an answer, and sent it to you four days ago, in hope that by your

means it might come to Marseilles time enough to be sent to the fleet with your answer to the same letter. Two days ago, here was a rumour spread that the English had taken Malaga. I inquired the author of that report; he sent me letters from Genoa, dated 2nd-12th Augusti, wherein I found written, that letters of Malaga, dated twenty days before, had signified that the English were thundering with their cannons before their port. More than this was not in those letters; so that our letters from the fleet, dated 21-31st July, are later than those of Malaga by eight days.

I have this week received a hundred pounds, by the way mentioned in mine of July 31st, and diminished after the rate of the former sum.

If you were at leisure to teach this adjoined paper to speak French, it might be communicated to my old friend Mr. Tronchin. The man that wrote it at Amsterdam is well known to

Your faithful servant,

J. P.

MR. PELL TO COLONEL LOCKHART.

Zurich, August 28th, old style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I hope your honour hath received mine of August 21-31, with the two French papers. The French ambassador's secretary hath not yet sent the translation of the Zurich

draught of articles. They do not believe that ever he will send it hither, or to the court of France, the ambassador having, in his answer at Baden, told them, that he should be sorry that ever the king should know the contents of that draught. The deputies, in their short reply at Baden, promised to report his answer, that their superiors might make reflections upon it, which should be communicated to him. A larger reply than this he is not likely to receive from them, till they have contrived it by a meeting of deputies sent for that purpose to Arraw. But that meeting will hardly be before the solemn day of fasting and prayer, which is to be observed all over the country upon Thursday, the 11th of September, old style. Those of Zurich have given notice of it to the Grisons, their confederates in Rhætia, and have received an answer, wherein they promise concurrence. Berne useth to give notice to Geneva, which, no doubt, will observe the same day also. When that solemnity is past, it may be, they will begin to think upon the French ambassador, and to tell him the reasons of all the differences of this draught from the former leagues. Though perhaps the court of France would not much stick at any, save these two :—

First, that the protestant cantons will have the naming and appointing of their colonels, and other officers. Secondly, that they will not permit their subjects to serve the king for the defence of the

conquests in Flanders, Alsatia, and Catalonia, much less for offence and extension of his dominions.

Whereas, heretofore, the kings of France had the naming of all the officers, and have made use of the Switzers in the said conquests. Some think that neither France will ever like these two articles, nor these cantons ever change them ; so that they will never be able to come to a new league.

But new emergencies may alter the resolutions on either side. From Frankfort, August 20th, they write thus :—M. Gravelli, deputy for the King of France, hath made a very notable remonstrance to the assembly here, shewing how punctually the king had hitherto observed the articles of the peace at Munster ; that, notwithstanding the solemnity of that treaty, the emperor is going about to disannul it, and make it merely void, by sending forces into Flanders and Italy ; that the king, his master, would endeavour to cross his designs, and assured himself that the electors, and other princes of the empire, would second him, for the maintenance of that peace so established ; in which resolution his majesty would continue with all constancy.

From Vienna they write, that the emperor was to go from thence, August 17th, towards Bohemia, intending to crown the empress at Prague, September 10th, and his son four days after. That he had, in plain terms, told the Polonian agent, that King Casimir must expect no assistance from him.

Here they say, that, since the news of the Swedes' great success in Polonia, the emperor wishes he had kept all his forces

by him ; saying, if they were not so far on their way towards Milan, he would have recalled them. But *they* make haste into Italy ; that is to say, *the horse*, for the foot go not so willingly thither ; two regiments of them revolted, and most of them ran away ; as many of them as were overtaken by the horse were hanged. Count Casati, the Spanish ambassador, went from Chur in Rhætia, August 23rd, to meet Count Enkenfort, their general.

Here everybody seems to believe the report, that King Casimir is now a prisoner to the Swedes.

I am, your honour's most humble and faithful
servant,

JOHN PELL.

COLONEL LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Clermont, September 3-13, 1656.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of August 24th, and return my humble thanks for the trouble you have given yourself in it ; and must beg pardon for my own silence of late, which I hope you will the further grant, when you know that for my health's sake I have been forced to leave the court, and retire to a place in the country to drink some mineral waters that have the reputation of being good for the stone.

The court here doth busy themselves with nothing at present, save what relates to their magnificent entertainment to the Queen of Sweden.*

In England, all men's expectations are upon the

* The Queen of Sweden was lodged in the Louvre during her residence in Paris.

ensuing parliament. Sir Henry Vane is ordered to give in security for keeping the peace, occasioned by his writing a book against the government.* All our enemies are very active, and look upon this juncture of time as favourable for their wicked designs ; but I hope the Lord will disappoint them. If I had a list of the members elected, it should have been sent you in this by, right honourable,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 4th September, 1656.

SIR,—Yours by the last post, with the enclosed to Mr. Dury, is received ; the telling you whereof is the sole errand of this letter, the affairs in which being such as do occasion no new instructions, and ours here administering nothing of news. What here is, you will find in the enclosed print, to which I am enforced to refer you at this present, and to make an end of your trouble at this time, by signing myself,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

* This book was entitled, “ A Healing Question ;” its author, refusing to enter into a bond for the payment of the fine laid on him by the council, was committed to prison in Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

COLONEL LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Clermont, September 9-19th, 1656.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received your last, with the enclosed papers, which I have sent by yesterday's post to Mr. Secretary. There being no other news, save what relates to the high entertainment the court gives to the Queen of Sweden, at Compeigne, I know a long narration of what hath passed here cannot be very savoury to you, and therefore I shall sum up all I have to say on that subject in this one word: it hath been suitable to her humour, which is more extravagant than is imaginable. I shall trouble you no further, except by giving you my best assurance, that I am, right honourable, your most humble and obedient servant,

•WILL. LOCKHART.

I have sent the list of the members elected for the ensuing parliament to Mr. Morland, who will send it to you.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 9-19th September, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 4-14th September, with one to Mr. A. P., and the other to Colonel Lockhart, both which I shall faithfully send

by the ordinary. I received likewise the Italian, for the which I return you humble thanks. I have received this week no letter or news either from Mr. Secretary or Colonel Lockhart, but I have sent you a copy of that letter which I received last week from Colonel Lockhart's secretary, written in Colonel Lockhart's name, by which you will be able to judge of those affairs. I have no news from the valleys, save only that in a short time they are like to quit their dwellings and goods beyond Pelice. What will be the end of these affairs, the Lord only knows. When I shall receive my orders for my return, I shall acquaint you with all particulars necessary for the conveyance of your letters, and whatsoever else I can imagine myself capable to serve you in entreating you to believe that I am,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 11th September, 1656.

SIR,—The papers which yours mentions to have been sent to Colonel Lockhart are transmitted by him hither by this post, which I give you notice of, that you may spare the pains of sending duplicates unto Whitehall. The parliament is to begin on Wednesday next. The elections have been very quiet, and that gives us hope that peace and settle-

ment will be the issue of this assembly, although enemies of all sorts do not omit to use all their artifices to put us into new broils. The pretended king, in conjunction with the Spaniards, threatens us an invasion from abroad, and an insurrection at home,* and is levying forces for that end in Flanders ; but I hope they will not find us asleep, nor the Lord departed from us, without whom we shall watch in vain. I suppose you hear that the French and Spanish army do but look one upon another, having no disposition to fight, as also how matters go in Prussia and Poland, so that I need not be particular therein. From the West Indies we have nothing ; nor have I further to add at this time, save the assurance of my being

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

* King Charles, who now moved from Cologne to Bruges, had concluded a treaty with the King of Spain, who was to furnish him with men and money for the invasion of England from Flanders. Missionaries were, during the summer, sent into England to stir up another insurrection ; but Cromwell obtained, by his own emissaries, early information of all their plots. Lockhart himself, who alludes to it in a preceding letter, was busily employed in unravelling the conspiracy. Charles raised four English regiments in Flanders, by means of Spanish money, under the command of the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Rochester, Lord Wentworth, and Lord Newburgh. In England, various royalists of consequence were arrested on the 12th of September.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 16-26th September, 1656.

SIR,—I have received no letter from you, either to Mr. Secretary, or Colonel Lockhart, or myself, this week. Just now comes one for you from England, which I have sent enclosed. In Mr. Secretary's letter to me, there are these following expressions :—" I earnestly desire you will make all the haste you can in the distribution of the money. After which it will be necessary for you to return home, and give an account of all you have done of that nature."

I have received nothing of news from the valleys since my last ; the present state of their affairs is, that they are upon the point of selling their lands beyond Pelice. I have nothing else of importance to trouble you with at present, more than to assure you, that neither during my abode here, nor after my return to England, shall I fail to approve myself,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

As I was closing this letter, I received two letters from Colonel Lockhart, directed to yourself, both in one and the same packet, which I have sent enclosed. I would willingly send you the substance of his two letters which he has also written to me,

but the messenger will not by any means grant me that favour. In general, it is only this, that Colonel Lockhart desires to know what success his mediation has had in the court of Savoy. In one of his letters, he also marks, that Sir Henry Vane is ordered to give in security for keeping the peace, having written lately a book against the present government.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, September 18-28th, 1656.

SIR,—That the emperor intended to send a resident hither, I gave you and Mr. Secretary notice the last week, though some here thought it a thing so incredible, that they endeavoured to persuade me, that either there was no such matter, or, at the utmost, it was but a verbal honour conferred upon one that should only appear with that title at all their Baden assemblies, but never come to Zurich. I know not what they will now say to the weekly news printed in Milan, 10-20th September, wherein I find these words:—“*Se ne veniva ad habitare, in qualità di Residente della Maestà dell’ Imperatore, a Zurigo, il fratello del Vescovo di Basilea, per tutto ciò, che possa bisognare in quelle parti à gli interessi della medesima Maestà.*” The same Milan print assures us, that Valenza was delivered to the French on Saturday morning, 6-16th September.

Yours of the 9-19th of September tells me, that you had no English letters or news that week. I have therefore sent you such as came hither by the last post.

As for the lands beyond Pelice, I confess I am one of those that would advise their owners to take their money while they may have it ; for Mr. Swyft's letter puts me in no great hope of their stay there.

I did never understand why the merchant here should think that it belonged not to me to pay the post of your letters hither, or what should first give him occasion to dream of receiving it from Geneva, unless he so misunderstood some passage in one of Mr. Tronchin's letters. Having money of Mr. Tronchin's in his hands, he had rather deduct thence what he list for postage, than trouble himself to give me an account. I have sent him word that you are shortly to go from Geneva, and then I will reckon with him once for all.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO COLONEL LOCKHART.

Zurich, September 18-28.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The last week I had so little to write, that I thought it unfit to trouble your honour with so empty a letter.

Whilst the deputies were at Arraw, the French ambassador's secretary brought them a letter from his lord, shewing them that he continued in the same mind that he had expressed in his written answer at Baden, and praying them that they would all meet him at Arraw the 1-11th of November next. It is likely that he named so long a day, because he knew that they would not willingly come to any public assemblies till the end of the vintage.

The deputies sent him an answer in writing, wherein they signified that the protestant cantons do conceive the articles presented by their deputies at Baden to be honest, reasonable, just, and such as they ought not to recede from, &c. As for their meeting at Arraw in November next, they could give no answer till they had acquainted their principals with his excellency's desire, &c.

This week's Italian post brought hither the weekly news from Milan, printed there September 10-20th. It assures us that Valenza was delivered to the French September 6-16th. The same paper tells us, that a brother of the Bishop of Basil is to be sent to dwell at Zurich in quality of resident for the emperor, &c. If that resolution hold, it is not unlikely that he may endeavour something here to the disadvantage of France.

As for the renewing of the league with the French, Berne is grown much cooler in that bu-

siness, and almost as backward as Zurich. Nothing will be done in it till the vintage be past. The arbitrators have met alone; they have put off their next meeting till the 1st of November.

I am, your honour's most humble and faithful
servant, JOHN PELL.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 23rd September—3rd October.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 18-28th September, with the two enclosed, one for Mr. A. Peters, and the other for Colonel Lockhart, both which I shall faithfully send to-morrow morning. I have likewise received your Italian paper, for the which I return you many thanks, as also for the extract of English news. What the business of the poor people's lands will come to in the end I am not able to foresee, having received nothing of late from them, but expect it very suddenly; and so soon as it comes to my hands, I shall not fail to communicate the same to you in my next letter.

I have just now received a packet from England for you, which I have sent you enclosed, but no letter for myself. I have also received none this post from Colonel Lockhart. I have heard some whispering here, as though he were upon his departure from France back to England; but I believe no

such matter till I have better grounds. I, for myself, I am preparing all things for my journey home, and only attend my orders. In the meantime, I entreat you to be assured of what in me lies to approve myself,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant.

I entreat you to do me the favour to present my humble service to Mr. Ulrich, and to assure him that I have received his civil and kind letter, and nothing troubles me but that I am at present necessarily hindered from writing him an answer. I shall not fail to do him, or any of his children, any service that lies in my power. By the enclosed, from Mr. J. Aldworth, you will find that our letters to General Montagu are in a fair way to be conveyed to him.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 2nd October, 1656.

SIR,—To what you will find in the enclosed print, I shall at this time only add, that the parliament, having received an account of the war with Spain, did yesterday declare, that that war was undertaken upon just and necessary grounds, and for the good of the people of this commonwealth, and that they approved thereof, and would, by

God's blessing, assist his highness therein. About two or three hours after the passing of that vote, we had news brought by an express from our generals on the Spanish coast of the success God hath given us against the Spaniard. Eight of his ships, coming from the West Indies, and being got within a few leagues of Cadiz, were espied by three of our frigates, who making up to them, fought them, and, after a very hot dispute, took two of them, burnt and sunk three, are in the chase of two, and one got away. In the ships taken, there is six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and upwards. We have great cause to bless God for this seasonable mercy, and hope it is an earnest of further good to the commonwealth.

I remain, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

SIR R. BLAKE AND GENERAL MONTAGU TO
THE LORD PROTECTOR.

On board the Naseby, in the Bay of Niers,
19th September, 1656.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—Being out of water, and our victuals almost spent, and having not heard from your highness since the receipt of your commands by the Griffin, we found it requisite to sail for this place, with the greatest parts of our fleet, as well to recruit our wants as to be in the

way of further orders. Accordingly, we arrived here the 11th instant ; and the 17th following, in the night, received the enclosed account from the commander of the squadron left before Cadiz, which we humbly present to your highness, hoping we shall shortly be able to inform your highness more particularly thereof, having sent out what frigates we could, as well to reinforce the guard before Cadiz, as to secure the prizes hither to us. In the meantime, the providences that have already come to our knowledge concurring to bring those ships into our hands, do very much convince us it is of God in more than ordinary manner ; and we trust it will by the same good hand be sanctified unto us. We humbly take leave, and remain, your highness's very faithful and obedient servants,

ROB. BLAKE,
E. MONTAGU.

ADMIRAL RICHARD STAYNES TO SIR R. BLAKE.

On board the Speaker, near Cadiz (in haste),
9th September, 1656.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—After my service presented to your honour, these are to acquaint you, that upon the 8th instant, at night, it blew hard westerly, by means whereof we, with our squadron, (only the Providence, she being gone to water,)

weighed out of the bay of Cadiz, and plied to sea. In the evening, we espied eight sail, some five or six leagues to the westward of Cadiz, we using the best means we could to meet with them the next day, which we did, it being little wind at N.E. It was nine of the clock before we came up with them, but, having a fresh gale in the night, all but we and the Bridgewater were to leeward, and could not come to us. But when we came to the fleet, it proved to be the Spanish fleet come from the West Indies, which were four of the King of Spain's, three merchantmen, and one prize, which they had taken by way of the Wester Island, being a Portuguese, which were eight in all. We engaged the fleet, but, being within four leagues of Cadiz, could not stay for our ships; but we, the Bridgewater and Plymouth, engaged them, and had a sharp dispute some of us; but the admiral being the smallest ship, we slighted her, for we conceived there was policy used in the flag, by which means their admiral and the Portugal prize got into Cadiz. The vice-admiral and one more were sunk, and burnt two. We took one; the captain of her, which we have on board, saith they have in her two millions of ducats; the vice-admiral had as much. I believe the Plymouth chased another, who came ashore between St. Peter's and Cape Degarr; but it seems, by the prisoners' information, they had no

silver in her. The ship we took was as good as all the fleet besides. The other, that Captain Harman hath taken, is very rich, but little silver in her. Both the prize and our ship are severely wounded, both in mast and hull. The commanders advise us not to take the silver out of her ; I do intend to take farther advice about it. There is no news ; only the fleet, I believe, will follow us. The galleys came out, because of the riches, and disability of our ship. We will come towards you, except your honours send further orders, for we are in no capacity to stay here. I shall leave two or three of the best sailing ships off the Cape, and I and the rest will come to Lisbon, where I hope to find your honours. There is the Nova-Spaniola fleet at the Havanna ; but when they will come home is not known. This is all ; only there is loss of men in some ships ; the number I know not.

I am, your honour's most humble servant,

RICHARD STAYNES.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 2-12.

SIR,—The last week, I prayed Mr. Morland to tell you, that I had nothing to write, save that I had received your letters ; except some Italian news, which I sent to him.

September 25th, at night, two of the Earl of Bedford's sons came hither from Geneva, with a train of near forty persons. I heard not of them till the next day a little before dinner time. As soon as they had dined they took horse, so that I saw none of them. They went towards Schaffhausen ; but whither they are gone since, I have not heard.

I was glad to find, in yours of the 11th of September, that there was so great hope of the parliament, then near its beginning, and so great watchfulness against the restless designs of the irreconcilable party. The printed news of Milan speak but of forty thousand ducats sent from Spain, and paid at Antwerp to his British majesty. Methinks eighteen thousand pounds sterling should not suffice to raise and maintain an army till it be fit to invade England.

Here is no imperial resident come as yet. The Venetian resident prepares for his return ; he thinks his successor will be here within two days.

The poor Nicodemites of Switz have been hitherto maintained by Zurich ; Berne will not contribute anything toward their maintenance. The prince elector offered them land in the palatinate. Zurich sent two of them thither with an ambassador. They are returned this week ; they like not the land ; but the ambassador dislikes not the gold chain which the elector gave him.

This week also returned another Zurich ambassa-

dor from Insbrug, with a gold chain and a good answer ; namely, that the archduke will send some of his counsellors to meet Zurich's deputies at Constance, for the hearing and determining the controversies concerning tithes in the borders, which otherwise might serve for the beginning of a quarrel.

Till the vintage be past, here will be hardly anything done in public affairs.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

From Chur, in Rhætia, one writes thus :—The pope's nuncio, Borromei, is here with a great court. He is often, and very familiarly, with the Count Casati, (the Spanish ambassador.) He lodgeth in our bishop's palace. Our people say, so many strange birds flocking hither is a sign of ill-luck. It makes the papists insolent. The young Count Casati hath been at Insbrug to help forward the emperor's soldiers into Italy. He is returned. He saith, those that are behind are not likely to see Italy ; they that are there already disband on every side. They run from the Spanish service to serve the Venetians ; that republic is beholden to the emperor for sending them so many soldiers, at such easy rates.

From the same place : another, 30th September.—The imperial troops designed for Italy, which rebelled, and refused to go thither, are now recalled to go towards Vienna ; so that at this time there will be no more sent into Italy. Those that are already passed thither, through Rhætia, were but about six thousand, horse and foot, which ran away in great numbers to the French army.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, October 2nd-12th, 1656.

SIR,—The packet which you received from England for me had no great public news in it. There was a long letter from my wife, a printed Mercury, &c. Mr. A. Peters writes great hopes of the parliament on one side, and of a deep plot on the other side. An invasion from Flanders, and an insurrection all over England, at once. Is this no small matter? But he speaks more seriously:—"I trust," saith he, "they will not find us asleep, nor the Lord departed from us, without whom we shall watch in vain."

Concerning Colonel Lockhart's return into England, I can say nothing certain. But if he be chosen one of the representers for Scotland in this parliament, it will be no great wonder if he return, and give an account of his sense of the French counsels, before France see him again.

I must thank your care that my letter is gotten safe to Marseilles. I will hope that Mr. Aldworth will do his part, that at last our good and great friend may receive it.

Mr. Ulrich prays me to commend his son Caspar to your care. I believe that he seems more solicitous for him than he is indeed, to satisfy the mother, who hath no more children; for otherwise, he will not doubt of your good will towards him and his.

They that use to convey our Italian news are either grape gatherers, or owners of vineyards, or lovers of new wine ; so that I have no great hopes of Italian news all this month ; yet, to keep the old wont, I have sent you a little, which I think you will account little worth.

Milano, 4 Ottobre, 1656. — In Londra era poi stata fatta l'elettione de nuovi parlamentarii, et il simile in tutte le altre provincie vicine, ma in alcune però con non poco contrasto, per le discrepanze nate trà li presbiterali, gli anabatisti, et indipendenti, il che era anche stato disturbo allo stesso Cromuel, il quale per haver tutti medesimi parlamentarii à sua dispositione, s'era e con presenti, e con altri mezi adoprato, mà senza conseguirne intieramente l'intento ; onde pretendeva hora di astringerli con giuramento à dare il loro voto, secondo il suo desiderio, per esser eletto sovrano signore di quei regni.

In Anversa erano stati sborsati 40 M. Ducati Ongari d'ordine della Maestà del Rè N. S. al Rè d'Inghilterra, per levare 5 reggimenti per suo servitio, che saranno comandati dal Duca di Iorch suo fratello, e dai primati cavaglieri, che seguitano il partito di S. M. Britanica.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 9-19th.

SIR,—October 3rd, the new Venetian resident arrived here. October 6th, the old resident took his leave of this senate, and presented his successor to them. The next morning, he took his leave of the English resident, who, the same day after noon,

repaid his visit. The said old resident went from Zurich homeward this morning.

Yesterday, one of the senators and the second secretary were sent from this senate to give me notice that they had newly read letters from the protestants of Glaris, on the behalf of their neighbours, the protestants of Toggen-burg, who being subjects to the Abbot of St. Gall, have been lately much oppressed and molested by him. He questions them for acting in the war the last winter, although the arbitrators included them in the amnesty. Some of them have been heavily fined, though nothing was proved against them, but that they were in the country of Turgow, or in the city of St. Gall, during the war. Others fear that he will take away their lives. The senate of Zurich looks upon this business as not merely proceeding from the abbot, but arising from the suggestions and provocations of some incendiaries, who would give occasions to a new war before the arbitrators declare their sense of the old.

The said deputies prayed me to signify this uncertain state of their affairs in my letters to Whitehall. Before the beginning of the late war, the four protestant cantons had resolved to send a committee of deputies to the abbot to treat with him, and to set his spirit in a better posture toward his protestant subjects ; but this was then put out of

their minds by their thoughts of war. What they will now resolve to do, we shall shortly see. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, October 9-19th.

SIR,—I hear that Colonel Lockhart shall return into England to sit in parliament, being chosen by the city of Glasgow. How true this is, I cannot tell. Some say, my Lord Protector's speech to the parliament shall be shortly printed; as also the declaration made by the parliament, September 18th, against Charles Stewart and his adherents. Before this time, it is likely you will have another printed Mercury. That will tell you more than I can know of English news; as, of an ambassador arrived from the Duke of Churland, &c.

Since my last, a new resident from Venice is come hither. The old one went hence this morning.

The French paper adjoined belongs to your history. I have added the title of the book, that, if you think good, you may read it as you pass through Paris: it is but of four sheets of paper.

The Abbot of St. Gall troubles his protestant subjects in the country of Toggenburg for going from home into Turgow and into the city of St. Gall,

during the late winter war. Some have been heavily fined ; others fear he will take their lives. They have pitifully complained of this molestation to their neighbours, the protestants of Glaris, who have written to Zurich. This senate prays me to write of it to Whitehall, and also to pray you to speak a good word for them when you come home. I have, in your name, promised them, that, whilst you are near the court, you will be ready to serve them, or any other of their Glaubens-genossen, with your speech, &c. But I said, I was not sure that you should tarry long there. They, having now tried your abilities, might think fit to send you abroad again ere long. Whether at home or abroad, I pray you believe that I am, and shall be, Sir,

Your well-wishing and faithful servant,

JOHN PELL.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 9th October, 1656.

SIR,—This serves only to send you a more particular relation of the good news we have received from our fleet upon the coast of Spain, than my last could give you.

The Protector and the parliament do agree very well. The bill for disclaiming Charles Stewart and his family is perfected, and so is another for erect-

ing a high court of justice for trying of treason, it being thought more safe to try them in this way than by the ordinary juries. These are the chief things which are doing yet; and, indeed, they are matters of great consequence, in reference to the affairs of this commonwealth, at this time. This is all I have to write by this occasion. Our letters from Hamburgh by this post say, that the Muscovite has left the siege of Riga for want of provision, and by reason of great sickness fallen in his army.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 14-24th October, 1656.

SIR,—Thursday next will be just a fortnight, when, finding my body much distempered and out of order, by having kept my chamber about a month before, and, indeed, taken overmuch pains in the rectifying all my accounts and history for my return, I thought to repair my health by taking the air about sixteen miles along the lake side, towards the Pays de Vaud; but, coming to my journey's end, I fell sick of a high fever, and was fain to keep my bed till the Wednesday following, when I was brought to Geneva in a litter. When I came

home, I found a letter from yourself of the 2nd of October, and others from England, wherein was a packet for yourself. That from England to yourself, together with that letter which was written to me, I immediately sent away post to Zurich, but was so ill that I could not write. Yours to England I was not able to send in its due season, for which I ask your pardon, and shall faithfully send it this post, together with your other which I received the last night, and also take the whole blame (as I justly ought) for the retarding of the same upon myself, in my letters to Mr. Secretary, whom I shall acquaint with what befel me. The truth is, I have been very ill ever since, and forced to keep my chamber ; and I have very much pain to write this letter. I humbly thank you for the French paper in relation to my history, and the other Italian papers, which I have received in your letter of the 9-19th of October.

As for Mr. Ulrich's son, having no small regard unto your mentioning the business, and willing heartily to serve Mr. Ulrich in anything which lays in my power, I immediately received him into my family, and intended to have taken him along with me into England ; but the plain truth is, I find him a youth extremely given up to idleness, and also addicted to drinking ; the first day, indeed, he wrote something, but ever since, counting one with another, he has not written a page a-day. I have

sometimes spoken to him in such terms as I could, considering that he was but a stranger to me, and he would promise all things ; but my back has been no sooner turned, than he has gone out idling into the town. In sum, he is one that has been so bred up to idleness, that he will never stick close to anything ; and I shall have no satisfaction in his company, and his father but little comfort afterwards. Wherefore I am resolved by no means to take any charge of him, and therefore humbly entreat you, Sir, to order the matter so with his father, that, as he came in quietly to me, so he may go out without the least noise, for that would be a very great trouble to me ; neither would I that ever the youth should know that I complained against him. His father may find some other pretext to send for him away. Sir, I refer all to your prudence, beseeching you to assist me therein, for I clearly find I shall never do any good with such a youth, and that he will be a continual vexation to me. I have received no letters from England this post, or from Colonel Lockhart. Just now, I received a letter of three or four lines from Mr. Aldworth, of Marseilles, directed to us jointly, the original whereof I have sent you enclosed. I am, Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 16th-26th.

SIR,—Some letters from Venice tell us, that since the Venetian fleet took Tenedos from the Turk, it hath also taken the island of Lemnos, or, as they now call it, Stalimene; but the new Venetian resident here tells me, that no letters from any officer or minister of state have yet assured him of the truth of this report.

The senate of Zurich hath written to the French ambassador residing at Soloturn, that (because they must send some to meet the archduke's ambassadors at Constance) they cannot send fit deputies to meet his excellence at Arraw, upon the 1st-11th of November, as he desired; but they intend to order the matter so, that they may meet *him* there three days after, that is, November 4th-14th.

The popish cantons begin to fear that the protestants will renew the league with France shortly. A few days ago, Colonel Tsweyer* of Uri, went to Lentzburg, (a castle subject to Berne, not far from Arraw,) where he endeavoured to persuade the governor to oppose the renewing of that league. The governor, having given him a long hearing, replied only thus: "Why did the popish cantons disregard all these reasons when they renewed

* Who hath been the emperor's agent in these countries.

with France?" It is said, the colonel was so surprised with this unexpected question, that he could not find what to answer; nor have I, at this time, anything more to say, save that

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, October 16th-26th.

SIR,—By Mr. Schmid's letter, of which I send you a copy, you will perceive that some care hath been taken to procure the papers which you desired.

Some letters out of France the last week said expressly, that Colonel Lockhart, being recalled by his master (and ours), was gone to the French court, *pour prendre congé de leur majestés*.

Letters out of England the last week told us, that Monsieur Rossin, who carried a letter from his highness to the states-general, was returned from the Hague to Whitehall, assuring them that at the Hague they had received the accord between them and Sweden, signed at Elbing by their ambassadors; and that if my Lord Protector's speech be printed, some passages shall be left out, as not fit to be seen by the eyes of all the world, though very convenient for the ears of the parliament and of every true Englishman.

Our booksellers are returned from Frankfort mart, but they have hitherto been so busy in unpacking that they have not yet been at leisure to let us see what they have brought, and whether they have anything worthy to be sent hence to you from

Your faithful servant, J. P.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 23rd.

SIR,—Mr. Morland writes that by the last post he received no letters out of England for himself or me; but he sent me a letter from Marseilles, written to us jointly, wherein Mr. Aldworth tells us of two Spanish galleons sunk by our frigates, and two others taken with a great deal of silver in them. If this be true, I shall hope to hear it confirmed by a letter from Whitehall ere long, and then I shall more boldly communicate the news than now I have done here.

The letters from Venice continue the news of their taking the island of Lemnos, which, they say, hath fifty villages. They also add, that they have taken many other lesser isles, and repulsed the Turks that came to recover Tenedos.

Four days ago, the new Venetian resident feasted the senators after their usual manner when they first come hither; they say, he had in all about seventy or eighty guests.

This morning, the deputies of Zurich went hence toward Constance, where the archduke's deputies have promised to meet them to-morrow night.

From Vienna, they write that the emperor, empress, and their son (the King of Hungary and Bohemia), are returned thither; that the Swedish resident hath been at court with a congratulation for the late coronation at Prague; that, they say, there will shortly come hither a new deputy from the Moscovite, and General Hatsfeld with an ambassage from Poland.

Other letters from the same place tell us of the continuation of levies, contributions, and persecution of protestants there; that the Prince of Transylvania shall certainly marry the Holstein lady, the Queen of Sweden's sister; that the Poles intend to try their fortune against the Swedes once more this year, and if they fail, they will oblige themselves to make their kingdom hereditary to the house of Austria, if it free them of the Swedes; or if Austria refuse, they will offer the same conditions to the Moscovite, with whom some have already been tampering.*

Of the remonstrance which the French agent made to the assembly of deputies at Frankfort against the emperor, I made mention in that which I wrote to you Aug. 28th; but till to-day I could

* In these tamperings we see some of the circumstances which prepared the way for the memorable division of Poland.

not get a copy of the memorial which he then gave them in writing. I have sent it to Mr. Morland by this post.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. MORLAND.

23rd October, 1656.

SIR,—Supposing that you have fully perfected the disposing of the last 5000*l.* among the poor people of Piedmont, his highness hath commanded me to signify to you that his pleasure is that you return to England. The motives that have induced him to send you those commands are, 1st, that you may give a full and particular account of your whole negotiation since your residence in those parts ; as also that he may be truly informed of the state and condition of the aforesaid poor people, whereby his highness will be the better enabled to take a measure of what is fit to be done on their behalf for the future, as well for the employing of the money that yet remains undisposed of, as the considering what may be further done for their help and encouragement ; for, although his highness hath called you away for the present from this employment, yet he hath not laid aside his affection and care towards them ; and this you are to let those of Geneva know, as also such of the ministers that belong to the valleys as you

have occasion to converse with ; his highness's intention being on all occasions to consider and have regard to their interest and welfare equally with his own. And as concerning Geneva itself, you are to take your leave of them before your coming away, giving them assurance of his highness's affection and good will towards them, and that he will be ready to demonstrate the same according as he hath opportunity, thanking them for the civilities they have shewed to you during your residence there. I have spoken to Mr. Noell to send you a bill of exchange for 250*l.* sterling, which I hope will defray your charges home ; and I pray you make all the haste you can, for your presence here at this time would be of use to me in particular, having much business upon my hands. For news, I refer you to the enclosed print, there being nothing extraordinary at this time, and for that reason I have omitted to write to Mr. Pell by this post. I pray let him know so much, and excuse my not writing to him. Before you come away, lay things so with your friends at Geneva that you may have a constant correspondence with them, and thereby the weekly knowledge of all affairs in those parts,* and

* In the following reign, the party in opposition frequently dwelt on the exact intelligence which Cromwell constantly had of what was going on in foreign parts. On the 14th of February, 1667-8, Pepys tells us, " Secretary Morrice did this day in the house, when they talked of intelligence, say, that

by whom also we may send letters to Mr. Pell. Let me know what time you think you shall be at Dieppe, where a vessel shall be appointed to bring you over. This being all I have to trouble you with,
I rest, your very affectionate friend,

JO. THURLOE.

COLONEL LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Received at Zurich, October 26th, 1656.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of Sept 28th, and now beg pardon for my not writing to you. So seldom doth anything occur here worthy of your knowledge, that in civility to you I am many times obliged to silence, lest I should give you too many troubles.

For to make this excuse meet with the better reception, I shall accompany it with the good news of the success God hath blessed our fleet with near Cadiz. I have sent the particular account of it to you as I had it from Mr. Secretary ; and, for Mr. Morland's perusal, have sent the papers in his packet to be conveyed to you with this. It may be no news to you, but have this apology for me, so good news

he was allowed but 700*l.* a-year for intelligence ; whereas, in Cromwell's time he did allow 70,000*l.* a-year for it ; and was confirmed therein by Colonel Birch, who said, that thereby Cromwell carried the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle."—*Pepys*, vol. iii. p. 41.

cannot be too often told ; and I shall pray God that all concerned may have hearts to bless him for so great and so seasonable mercies.

I am, right honourable,
Your most humble and faithful servant,
WILL. LOCKHART.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 30.

SIR,—It seems the contrary wind hindered your last week's letters, for I have now received two at once from you, with printed news, &c. Mr. Morland and I have caused the parliament's narrative to be printed in French and High Dutch, and the copies to be dispersed. Neither that narrative nor your letters have made any mention of that horrid story concerning Lima, in Peru, which I find in Merc. Politic., page 7293.* To say the truth, it

* General Montagu, in his despatch to the Protector, (printed in Thurloe, vol. v., p. 434,) gives an account of the pretended earthquake in Peru from the relation of the son of the Marquis of Baydex, which latter nobleman, with the greater part of his family, had perished in the vice-admiral's ship. He said, that the mines of Potosi were utterly destroyed, and the city of Lima swallowed up, with all the king's treasure there ; so that there was no longer any possibility of having gold or silver in any part of Peru. This wonderful story was much noised about, and generally credited.

deserves to be thoroughly sifted, and well circumstantiated, before it be printed by public authority. When the Spanish prisoners have been severally examined in England, the world will expect some account of that relation, whether it be true, or were but a Spanish fiction to amuse and abuse English seamen. I have here before me two Italian letters, written at Madrid, in Spain, September 26th and October 4th, new style: they both speak of the unhappy return of their West-Indian fleet, but add not a word concerning Lima, or any earthquake, &c. Of the latter of those two Madrid letters I have sent a copy to Mr. Morland, that he may read it, and then send it, or an English translation of it, to Whitehall. England's enemies will be as much troubled at the news of our unanimous proceedings in parliament, as at the narratives of our great successes abroad; their greatest comfort consisting of hopes to see us ruined by civil discord.

From Constance we hear nothing, save that the deputies from Insbrug and Zurich did meet the first time, October 25th, and the next time, October 27th. Some of them must return hither within two or three days, that they may meet the French ambassador at Arraw, November 4-14, as they promised him. If the emperor continue in the mind to send a resident to Zurich, he hath now an opportunity at Constance to feel their pulse,

whether they be willing to receive him ; of which I intend to inquire as soon as I hear of their return. In the meantime, I continue, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

From Vienna, October 19.—Two Polish ambassadors are come hither ; they cause new clothes of the German fashion to be made here for all their train. They offer to make their kingdom hereditary, if the house of Austria free them of the Swedes ; whereupon the emperor hath called the archduke, and all his most secret council. The rebellion continues among the soldiers, though many have been shot and hanged. Both the emperor, and his son the king, were very ill at their return out of Bohemia, but they are now recovered. He hath newly received French letters, wherein the King of France doth, almost in plain terms, denounce war.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, October 30.

SIR,—I hear that you have another answer to the Archbishop of Sens. I hope also we shall see it shortly. I have seen none yet but the Parisian's letter.

Monsieur Schmid saith he sent you more papers the last week, and will send me some other for you this week. (He hath sent me seven.)

Yours of 21-31 October was written so fair, as if you had a mind thereby to let me understand that your fever was gone ; of which I shall be glad to hear by your next.

Your new scribe hath been bred much from

home, out of his father's sight; perhaps, lest his mother, having no more children, should utterly mar him with cockering; but thereby, I fear, both father and mother know him not so well as I could wish. He was laying hold of a handsome opportunity of taking him from you, but it slipped through his fingers: I hope ere long he will find another. He hath not yet given me an answer to my question, how much he thinks fit to be given to the clerks. I thank you for your care in conveying the letters to me. October 26th, I received your second packet. Your extract of Colonel Lockhart's letter being in French, was fit to be presently communicated to the Antistes, the Burgomaster, &c.

Your twelve French copies of the *narrative*, I soon dispersed all over this country. In lieu of them, I here send you as many in the language of this country, though I think you are hardly acquainted with so many that understand that language.

Your humble and faithful servant.

J. P.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, November 6.

SIR,—November the 2nd, at night, the three Zurich deputies came home from Constance. November 4th, in the morning, three deputies (only

one of the former changed) went from Zurich, with an intent to lodge at Arraw that night, that they might be ready the next morning to join with the deputies of the other protestant cantons, to treat with the French ambassador concerning the renewing of the league.

November the 3rd, after they had in the senate given account of their Constance business, I spake with the chiefest of them. He told me, that the archduke's deputies were three of his chiefest counsellors of state ; that they had *two* businesses with them ; the *former*, concerning tithes, was ended. "Not," said he, "out of any regard to us, but in consideration of the money which our subjects of the city of Stein had sent to the archduke's court, after they perceived that their business would prove troublesome and tedious ; and did stick there only for want of a little Indian oil to make it move without difficulty."

The *other controversy* was not so easy to be composed. "We," said he of Zurich, "permit thirty monasteries to receive yearly profits out of our dominions ; but we have but one monastery to which Austria ought to pay revenues, and we could never get anything out of their hands ; yet they pay to cloisters in the dominion of Berne, Basil, and Schaffhausen ; only Zurich hath been thus hardly used. But," said he, "the truth is, the donation from the emperor Henricus Pius was so large to

that cloister, that (notwithstanding the horrible imprecations expressed in the Deed of Gift against all interceptors or diverters of that revenue) the Austrians would never be persuaded to part with so much yearly rent. We have now at the last brought it to a compromise, that both sides shall stand to the award of four arbitrators, two chosen by the archduke, and two by us ; so that though he, as lord of the soil, do send a deputy to be present at their consultations, yet that deputy shall be no umpire ; his vote shall not be reckoned. This," said he, "seems to be something, and yet may, perhaps, prove nothing ; for the number of arbitrators being even, their votes may be equal, and then we are never the nearer for want of a super-arbiter."

I asked the Zurich deputy, whether the news of the Spanish plate-fleet came to them whilst they were at Constance. "Yes," said he, "the eldest of the archduke's deputies first told me of it ; and shewed it me, written in a letter out of Spain."

I then asked him, whether any of the archduke's deputies had spoken to them of a public minister from the emperor to reside at Zurich. He answered, that none of them spake a word of the emperor, or of any resident. "Without doubt," said he, "the news written from Vienna, and printed at Milan, was but a mistake ; for the Bishop of Basil's brother appeared at Baden, at the last general meeting of all the cantons. And he then

presented credentials to the thirteen cantons (not to the protestants alone), and in his speech signified, that if the Corpus Helveticum had any business with the emperor, he should be ready to serve it. But the title of *resident* deceived some at Vienna, as if that title did oblige him to reside at Zurich ; where they knew two were already, (from England and Venice.) But this man, the bishop's brother, is governor of four towns upon the Rhine, between Basil and Baden, which belong to the archduke ; so that he thinks himself so near to us, that this new title from the emperor needs not oblige him to change his dwelling, or relinquish his government."

Lastly, I asked the same Zurich deputy, how long he thought they should tarry at Arraw. He answered, about three days. " For," said he, " the instructions which we received in the senate to-day do only give us power *ad audiendum et referendum*, so that we may spend some time to shew the French ambassador the reasons of the changes made by us in the articles ; but we having no power to conclude with him, much time cannot be spent in hearing what he hath to say to us, so that this Arraw journey will hardly cost us above five days in all." Sir, you shall at this time receive no further trouble from

Your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 13-23.

SIR,—I received no letters from England by the last post. It is likely the wind was contrary.

The last Monday (November 10th), two of the deputies returned hither from Arraw; the third went to Basil, because of some affairs of Mulhausen. It is thought that his absence is the chief cause why here is not yet a public account given of what was done at Arraw with the French ambassador. I deferred my writing thus long in expectation of some account from them. The principal secretary of state, who was one of the three deputies, now sends me word, that to-morrow he will come to me, and tell me all. But the council of two-hundred shall hear the account at their assembly the day after, that is, November 15th.

The second secretary went from me just now. He was sent from the senate of Zurich to shew me a letter received to-day from the senate of Berne, praying them to read and consider the *new complaints* of the poor men in the valleys of Piedmont, of which they adjoined a copy. He prayed me earnestly, in the name of the senate, to signify these things to all whom I conceived likely to help those poor men. I answered, that I made no question but that Geneva had copies of those new complaints; yet, as soon as I had a copy I would send

it to Mr. Morland, by whose means it would also come to the hands of Colonel Lockhart in the court of France, and to the principal secretary of state at Whitehall. He replied, that the senate in their answer to Berne would write that, for the present, they could not resolve upon any other course than to recommend the business to the English resident, who had promised to make it known, &c. The post will be gone before I can get a copy of this Piedmont letter; but it shall be sent to Mr. Morland to-day, by an extraordinary.

By the ordinary, I intend to send him a copy of the High-Dutch passport which the Prince Elector Palatine lately gave to Colonel Mey, who was in England above a year ago. It seems he despairs of getting a regiment after the league shall be renewed between France and his canton of Berne; for by that passport it appears that he hath accepted the title of captain of that prince's guard, consisting of 150 protestant Switzers. Mr. Morland will not fail to English it, and to send it to you shortly; for I believe he desires no less than myself to bear the title of,

Sir, your faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 16th Nov., 1656.

SIR,—The parliament do mostly intend the reformation of the law, and the raising of money for prosecuting the Spanish war, which they have heartily declared themselves in. This and the agreement which is between H. H. and them is a great cause of the quiet we have in all the parts of this nation. Nothing of news hath occurred of late worth the writing, which is the reason I refer you to the print.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

J. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, Nov. 20-30.

SIR,—Mr. Morland hath given me notice that he is recalled, and intends to leave Geneva November 21st ; wherefore (unless something alter his resolution) the letters that I send to him by this ordinary will not find him at Geneva. But I hope he hath taken order that they may be sent after him, and overtake him somewhere in the way.

Yesternight, I received another from him, whereby I perceived that he hath taken a sure course for the conveying of my letters to W. H. So that I hope

they will come hereafter as certainly to you, as hitherto they have done under his covert.

In my last to yourself, I made mention of Colonel Mey and his 150 Switzers for a guard at Heidelberg. By a letter of his, I have since understood that that prince elector would not have those 150 all of one canton, but out of Zurich and Berne fifty a-piece, and from Basil and Schaffhausen twenty-five a-piece.

By the way expressed in my last, I have learned that the principal secretary of Zurich had lately been with the Abbot of Saint Gall to speak in the behalf of his protestant subjects of Toggenburg. He there found three of them condemned to the galleys for intermeddling in the late war, but the abbot had commuted their penance into a long imprisonment at home, which, upon the intercession of the said Zurich deputy, he also remitted.

At Arraw, the French ambassador said, that he had only power to renew the league and conclude it according to the old form, nothing altered. The protestant cantons' deputies, especially Zurich, said they had no power to conclude upon those conditions, or to recede from the articles which they had delivered to his excellency at the former meeting. Whereupon, for want of full power on each side, the assembly ended; the ambassador saying, that he would write to the French court, and when he had received an answer thence, he would give them

notice of it, that another day of meeting at Arraw might be then appointed, &c. This delay makes it probable that the league will not be renewed before the end of this year, as I wrote to you three months ago.

Nor will the arbitrators say anything more before new-year's day; now at Arraw they gave notice that their next meeting should be January 6th-16th, at Olten, a town about seven English miles from Arraw. Some say, they will then give their definitive sentence concerning the last year's controversy and civil war; only time will assure us. In the interim, I remain, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

We have news here, I know not how true, that by the contagion the Swedes have lost their chancellor, Oxenstiern, and many other men of great abilities.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Lyons, 25th November, 5th December.

SIR,—Yesterday, in the evening, I arrived safe here (I praise God) with all my company and baggage. Some ten hours after I had been in my lodging, I received a packet from England, where was a letter for you, which I have sent you here enclosed. Mr. Secretary in his letter to me only

says, that he hopes now ere long to see me, having some weeks since sent me orders ; and in a post-script, that his highness and the parliament will agree. I intend either this evening or to-morrow morning to set out for Paris, and from thence to London, where I shall be very joyful to serve you in whatsoever lays in my power, and to approve myself,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 27th, old style.

SIR,—My last week's letter I enclosed in a covert to Mr. Firbanck, hoping that it would come safe to your hands, which way I intend to continue, till a letter from yourself or him do teach me a better address.

As soon as Mr. Morland's letters had told me the time of his departure, I wrote to him, demanding his advice, &c., but it seems he was gone from Geneva a day before my letter could get thither, though it were sent by the most extraordinary speed that this country affords. In hope that he will be with you before this comes to your hands, I have now adjoined another to him.

The Helvetian arbitrators will not meet till January 6th, old style. Nor is it yet known when the French ambassador will call the protestant can-

tons to another assembly for the renewing of the league.

What I wrote the last week, concerning the death of the Swedish realms-chancellor Oxenstiern, is now confirmed by letters from Frawenburg.

Letters from Venice say, that the King of Spain hath sent vessels westward to command the other Indian fleet to tarry there till further order, or, if they be upon the way, to advise them to land in Biscay. They add, that the pope doth, by Cardinal Bragadin, much press the Venetians to receive the Jesuits again into their city and dominions. Some believe that it will be granted, because of the pope's earnestness, and of the offer which the Jesuits make to pay down a million (of ducats, I think,) toward the war against the Turk.

Picolomini, a new nuncio, is upon the way to France. Monseigneur Bagni, who hath been nuncio there these fourteen years, is returning to Rome, where the pestilence increaseth very much, as also it breaks out again in the city of Naples. In Genoa it spreads terribly, so that the fear of it hath put them upon new strains of devotion. The republic hath made a solemn vow to the Virgin Mary to build a church in honour of her immaculate conception, and to fast the three vigils of her principal holidays. Cardinal Durazzo, their archbishop, standing upon the steeple of their greatest church, hath blessed the people three several times, shewing

them the ashes of John the baptist; and a great multitude of masses have been sung to appease the wrath of God, as also very rich alms have been distributed to the same end.

*From Vienna they write thus:—*The Polish ambassadors have been magnificently feasted at court, but have not been answered there according to their desire; so that they speak of departing very shortly, having here heard the unwelcome news, that the Transylvanian army is now marching into Poland.

Letters from the city of St. Gall, dated three days ago, assure us that some of their merchants have received tidings of a late battle between the Swedes and the Poles; where King Casimir stayed till he saw his army so totally defeated, that with great difficulty, and with a small train, he escaped into Dantzic. If this be true, we shall have a confirmation the next week, of which you may then expect a further account from

Your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, December 4th-14th.

SIR,—The last post from Geneva brought me a letter signifying Mr. Morland's departure from thence, upon Friday, Nov. 21st.

Another letter from the same place speaks thus:—The parliament of Thoulouse endeavours, by all means possible, to hinder the establishment of a new parliament at Nismes, because it will divert a great part of their profits. We have reason to wish the mortifying of those of Thoulouse, being

such deadly enemies of the reformed churches ; but we have cause to fear that those of our religion at Nismes will be no gainers. They now make the more considerable part of that town, but the popish part will be much strengthened by the accession of so many presidents, councillors, advocates, and proctors, as belong to the composing of such a standing high court of justice, which the French call a parliament.

When I last wrote to you, November 27th, I knew that the two hundred were assembled, but I was not then sufficiently informed of the occasion, &c., and therefore I made no mention of it. I have since learned that their burgomaster told them, that a gentleman of Vevay (in the canton of Berne) was newly come hither with letters from the Prince Elector of Saxony, desiring fifty of this canton to be adjoined to as many of Basil for a life-guard in his court ; that this gentleman, being of the said elector's bed-chamber, was to be a captain of that guard, and he intended to make a kinsman of his own ensign-bearer, but he desired to have a lieutenant named to him by the senate of Zurich. Hereupon that assembly, having read his letters, passport, and capitulation (of which I now send copies to Mr. Morland), agreed in the choice of a valiant, proper gentleman, out of one of their most ancient families ; him they named for a lieutenant, and gave him leave to take his fifty men where he

pleased in their dominion. This business being thus despatched, the next day the said captain of the guard went towards Basil, where it is said, he intends to tarry some time, I think, till these fifty Tigurines be ready to march. In the meantime, he will easily find twenty of Basil to go along with them ; for he saith, he hath already thirty of Basil, that were in livery, service, and pay, before the old elector died.

I did not see this captain ; but a friend, that discoursed a good while with him, gave me the account, which I have here adjoined in the following leaf.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

Zurich, November 28th, 1656.—Monsieur de Magny shewed me a great chain of gold, with this elector's counterfeit,* in a medal encompassed with rich diamonds. He said, the old elector had left a far greater treasure than his son expected.

Of himself and this unexpected business, he spake thus :—
“ Persuading myself that my studies and travels had made me fit for some good employment, I resolved to offer my service to the King of Sweden, and to that end, above a year ago, I went to Heidelberg to make known my intention to my cousin Monsieur d'Olivier, whom I knew to be very much esteemed by that prince elector ; by his means I had access to that prince, from whom I received arguments of great favour, and obtained letters of recommendation to the king. With these I went directly to Dantzic, where I left my letters till I might conveniently deliver them. In the meantime, I would need see Denmark. As I returned towards Dantzic, I fell into the hands of a Polish troop that stripped me ; this made me resolve to return to Leipsic, from whence I might signify to my friends

* i. e. portrait.

in what estate I was. In the way, I met two earls of that country, who had known me well in France; they advised me to go to the court of Saxony, and finding me unwilling, importuned me so long that at the last they got me into their coach, in which they brought me to the court, and presented me to the young prince, now elector, who having discoursed with me, was pleased to say I was fit for his turn, and therefore offered me conditions of several sorts; but I was too much obliged to Heidelberg to accept conditions elsewhere without leave from thence. By letters I obtained it, and then the prince, now elector, gave me a blank to write what conditions I pleased; from that time I was continually near him, so that I had the opportunity to observe his singular generosity; his great zeal for the protestant cause; his favourable inclinations toward the Calvinists; his aversion from wranglers in matters of religion; absenting himself from the sermons of those railers that seemed to have no intention to edify their hearers. I waited upon his highness in his progress into Lusatia, where I had an opportunity to speak of his guard, being a medley of Lutherans, papists, pagans, &c.; I said it would be more honourable and safe for his highness to have a guard of our Swisses. He approved the motion, and found the elector, his father, willing to have it prosecuted presently, especially because there was an appearance that his highness must shortly make a new journey to Prague. Hereupon, thirty men were sent for out of the canton of Basil. The old elector saw them once wait in their liveries, and was much pleased with them, commanding his son to make up an entire guard of the like, which his highness is now about to do, not only out of obedience, but also for his own affection to the protestant cantons. He hath also received particular information of the good designs of England, and hath a great opinion of them. His highness hath already laid aside one of his council for grumbling at his admission of (me) a Calvinist into his bed-chamber."

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Paris, 8-18 Dec. 1656.

SIR,—The last night, about an hour after my arrival in this city, I received one of yours of the 20th-30th of November, with another enclosed to Mr. Firbank, the which I shall send according to your desire, having already taken off the blank cover. I must beg your pardon for this enclosed from England, which was, by a mistake, sent back from Lyons to me at Paris, and by consequence it will come so much later to your hands ; this was an accident which was occasioned by my journey, which you need not at all fear for the future, I having taken the most punctual order I could possibly for the conveyance of your letters to England, and those of Mr. A. P. to you ; and so soon as ever I get into England, I shall settle the matter in a certain and sure method, and accordingly give you notice thereof. While I am upon the way, it may be there may arrive accidents that I am not aware of. The last post, there came no letters at all from England, either for you or me. Colonel Lockhart is gone from Paris about a fortnight since for England ; but he went aboard at Dieppe but four days since, being forced to stay the remainder of the time for a ship. I hear that he has not taken leave of the king, but only of the cardinal, forasmuch as the subject of his return was chiefly to

visit his lady, who at present lies in, or at least is very near the time. How true all this discourse is, I know not, save only that he is gone for London; neither shall I adventure to make any comments. I entreat you to present my humble service to Mr. Ulrich, and assure him, that if I can serve him or his son in anything in England, I shall not be wanting to the utmost of my power. To-morrow morning, I intend (God willing) to set out for Dieppe, and so to make what haste I can to London, whence I shall sometimes take the boldness to write you a word or two to inform you of our affairs in England, and where I shall always be ambitious of having any opportunity of giving you a real testimony how much I am,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 11-21.

SIR,—From Lyons, November 25th, old style, Mr. Morland wrote to me, that, a few hours after his coming thither, he had received your letters, dated November 13th; and in them he had found another from yourself for me, that came to my hands December 6-16. I was very glad to find in it such good parliamentary news, and desire the continuance of the like.

Here, some have told me of a coronation intended shortly at Westminster, and an invasion of Flanders the next spring ; to which I only answered, that I find not yet one word to such purpose in any of my letters, either from court or city.

The guard for the Saxon court, mentioned in my last, marcheth hence to-day toward Dresden.

The French ambassador at Soloturn hath not yet told the protestant cantons when he would have them meet him again, to speak concerning the renewing of the league. But he hath lately written a letter to a captain (who, perhaps, hath order to give out copies to all that desire them) concerning Alsatia, which, he says, was so annexed, at Munster, to the crown of France, that the cantons ought not to exclude it in the renewing of the league. In the adjoined, to Mr. Morland, I have sent a copy of that letter.

The last news from Milan say, that the Duke of Braganza (they mean the King of Portugal) is dead at Lisbon. That a formidable fleet is preparing in Spain to quell the English next summer. That the Jesuits have persuaded the remaining inhabitants of Naples, that the pestilence was stayed there by St. Francis Xavier. That the citizens of Parma do also believe that he hath a peculiar power against that sickness, so that they have newly taken him for their protecting saint. But Mantua makes ex-

traordinary addresses to the Lady of Loretto for the same end.

In the last news from Venice, I find that a Spanish galley, called Saint Lorenzo, is arrived at Genoa ; but being asked what money they brought, they answered, that in the way they were forced by a storm to cast overboard, not only all the merchandise in her, but also four great guns, and two hundred chests of reals, and 100,000 crowns, &c.

Some hereabout have observed, that the popish cantons continue their journeys to Feld-kirk, in the archduke's county of Tyrol, buying there great quantities of salt and corn, which some take for a token of some hostile design against Zurich, where they were wont to buy. These suspicions were increased yesterday by the news that our honest footpost was found murdered near Mellingen, and all his letters, which he brought from Berne, taken from him, and carried we know not whither.

Letters from Nuremberg say, that the Swedes have taken the Dantzickers' fort at the mouth of the Vistula (and thence called Weixel-mund), wherein G. Konigsmarck was kept prisoner.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, December 18-28.

SIR,—We do not yet hear that the French ambassador hath named a day for a new meeting of deputies from the protestant cantons. Most men think that he will not call them together till their other great assembly be past, January 6th, old style, in which the arbitrators are to declare their verdict concerning the last year's war. Some say, it will not much meddle with condemning or approving what is past, but will prescribe a way for preventing the like enmity for the time to come.

The old foot-post, mentioned in my last, was found with his brains beaten out, as with some club, and all his letters taken away, save only one letter, superscribed both in French and in High Dutch, to M. Tschudi, secretary and interpreter for the French king at Chur, in Rhætia. Perhaps the murderer did not see this letter. But others suspect that he left it out of respect to the person to whom it should be sent; for they think he was hired by some of the French faction to intercept all the letters, that by them it might be found who were the secret enemies to the league. In the meantime, here was a rumour of a great sedition in the city of Berne, and therefore many longed for the coming of their post with his Berne letters. When this senate heard of his death, and saw but that one

letter, they brake it open, to see whether it made any mention of that sedition, or the causes of it. The letter was written by another Tschudi to his brother, to signify in what danger a third brother was, because many in Berne sought his life. The senators being also divided ; some urging an act of oblivion for all miscarriages in the last year's war ; others saying, that Captain Tschudi, and some other officers, ought to be first called to account. This latter opinion had, by five voices, outvoted the former party. Of other sedition than this, that letter made no mention. But others say, that they have since heard that there was a conspiracy in one night to massacre divers persons ; that their names and the time were determined ; and that the magistrates of Berne know this, but dare not make inquiry into it. In the meantime, some of Zurich have apprehended a very poor countryman, whom they suspect guilty of the murder ; but I do not yet hear any sufficient grounds of their suspicion.

The last week's letters from Nuremberg do not confirm their former news, that the Swedes had taken Weixel-mund from the Dantzickers ; but they say, that the Jesuits are busy in making way for the choice of a king of the Romans.

*From Geneva they write thus :—*We have German soldiers passing through this city every day. They come out of the country of Milan. They say, that they did belong to General Enkenfort, but are forced to leave him, because the Spaniards

gave them not one penny of money. They return into Germany, having refused to serve the Venetians and the French.

From Bergamo they write, that so many German soldiers are run away, that there are not above three thousand of them left. But they do more hurt in the country than ten times as many well-paid and well-governed soldiers would do. That Spain is about to sell the port of Final to the Genuenses. That the pope hath an inflammation in one of his legs ; some of his dependents fear it will prove a plague-sore.

From Vienna, December 2nd.—Prince Robert is come out of the palatinate hither, and hath offered his service to the emperor, who hath over-tired himself with hunting, so that he is very ill since he came hither. The earl whom he sent to Dresden is now coming home to tell his imperial majesty his opinion of the new Elector of Saxony and his council. The Prince of Transylvania is sending some troops towards the borders of Poland.

From Venice, December 5-15th.—Here are two ambassadors come from Muscovy with great pomp. One of them is sixty years old. They shall have audience as soon as they will. We know the Turks and Muscovites are at this time no good friends.

From Casal, December 3-13th.—The Duke of Modena is now at Pignerol. We believe he will go into France. Poland hath offered the title of generalissimo of that kingdom, and many great advantages, to the Prince of Condé. He will accept their offers, and leave the Spaniards.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 18th December, 1656.

SIR,—We have very little news at this time. In parliament, little hath been done for these ten days

last past, most of which time having been spent about James Naylor, a Quaker, who being found guilty of horrid blasphemies, the parliament sentenced him, on Tuesday, to be pilloried, whipped, stigmatized in the forehead, bored through the tongue with a hot iron, and imprisoned till he shall be released by parliament.* We have heard nothing lately from the fleet.

Several petitions were this day in parliament against Quakers, Socinians, Arians, Arminians, and Antisabbatarians, and praying they may be punished and suppressed. The petitions are referred to a committee to consider what bill is fit

* Some of the sects which arose at this time were becoming very troublesome, and several deluded men had been imprisoned. Naylor seems to have been a madman. He rode about the country, with men and women, singing *hosanna!* &c., and was taken into custody at Bristol. The letters found about him, and printed in the *Mercurius Politicus*, are as absurd as they are blasphemous. The parliament, however, would have shewn more wisdom, as well as humanity, had they placed the deluded man under such treatment as might have restored him to his right mind, instead of passing so barbarous a sentence upon him. Naylor began his career with the Quakers, and returned, after a time, to sobriety and his old friends. Admiral Montagu, writing to England from Lisbon, about this time, says, "There is an English ship come in here from Newfoundland. The master hath been on board of us. There is not, they say, one person in the ship, officer or mariner, but are all Quakers. I fear they will meet with affronts from these people; and I hear they have been in danger already, for not putting off their hats to the Portuguese when they have saluted them in the streets." — *Thurloe Papers*, v. 422.

to be brought in against them. The death of the King of Portugal, I suppose, is well known to you ; the queen is declared regent till the young king be seventeen years of age ; he is now about fourteen years old. We hear no news from the fleet of late.

I remain, your most affectionate friend and
servant, J. T.

Mr. Morland, with all his company, arrived here this night.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 24th, old style.

SIR,—December 18th, the senate of Zurich received a letter from Soloturn, wherein the French ambassador told them, that he had received an answer from court concerning the alterations proposed by the deputies of the protestant cantons at their last meeting ; and therefore he prayed them to name a day for their next meeting at Arraw, &c. Hereupon, this senate wrote to the burgomaster of Basil (as chairman of the arbitrators), telling him, that, because the arbitrators had appointed to meet about eighteen days after, they desired to know what day he conceived might be so chosen for this assembly at Arraw, that it might be no hindrance to that other at Olten, nor be hindered by it. December 21st, they received his answer, which I have not yet seen. But I hear, that he desired that the

deputies, or rather plenipotentiaries, might meet at Arraw as soon as might be, that they might have two or three days to consult there, before the French ambassador come to them. That so, staying but a little at Arraw, he might go thence to Olten at the time appointed, January 6th.

This business of renewing the league with France now seems to draw to a period ; so that ere long we may see the final conclusion of that treaty.

But that other, of composing their quarrels at home, may take them up another year. I perceive it is not expected that the arbitrators, at their next meeting at Olten, should publish their sentence concerning those controversies. It is only wished that they may there well agree in the form of it ; and then resolve to give notice to the other cantons, that they are ready to declare it to their deputies in a grand assembly at Baden, as soon as they please to meet there.

The same day, December 21st, notice was given in all the churches here, that, December 28th, there should be a collection of money in all the churches of the city of Zurich for those persons which, about fifteen months ago, left their goods, houses, and lands in Switz, and came hither, where they now intend to settle, and to take in hand such employment as they find themselves capable to learn. And, because it is likely that some liberally-minded and well-affected to this contribution are not well

stored with ready money, a place was at the same time named, where the senate had appointed overseers to receive such clothes, household-stuff, corn, &c., as should be sent in, which might be as useful as money to these poor exiles, who are now going to take houses, and to live in distinct families ; for hitherto they have lived together, full of irresolution what course to take, having been only bred graziers, and ignorant of all trades fit for this place. They were not altogether out of hope, that the protestant cantons might obtain a restitution of some part of their estates confiscated and detained by the canton of Switz ; but now they give over those hopes, as also their thoughts of going into the palatinate ; and do resolve to learn some occupations fit for this town. It is generally desired here, that these may now be so helped by supplies and counsel as that they may visibly thrive, and thereby may give encouragement to more of those Nicodemites to come hither, forsaking all that they have in the popish cantons, rather than to continue longer there among their kindred, who have devoted themselves to wilful ignorance and irreligious superstition.

It is observed, that of the great number of those Italians which, above a hundred years ago, left Locarno, and settled in Zurich, for the like cause, here are now divers rich families, so that they have intermarried with the chiefest families of Zurich, though they and theirs were, at their first admission, ex-

cluded from all hopes of any promotion to places of government, and so they continue.

As for the murder mentioned in my last, the suspected man is still in prison, but not yet convicted. The suspicion still continues, that the old man was killed, not for his money, but merely for his letters, because none of Berne write that they did give him any money to carry; nor do any of Zurich say, that they expected that he should bring them any, or that they have now lost any money by his death. This makes men so much the more desirous to find out the murderer; hoping thereby to discover them that hired him to intercept the letters, and to whom he delivered them, &c.

From Paris, December 2-12, one wrote thus hither:—"The English resident (for the ambassador is gone) hath received letters, that their frigates have taken three other galleons of Spain, whereof one was fraught with ingots of silver; and they have sunk two."

To those that inquire of me whether this be true, I have nothing to answer, but that I have received no English letters of so late a date. I am ashamed to tell every one, that the last English letter that I received is now six weeks old. Three days hence, I hope I shall receive letters from Whitehall, dated December 11th, accompanied with those which, for these three post-days last past, were in vain expected by

Sir, your faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 1-11, 1656-7.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 4th of December, and all the papers whereof it makes mention, which gives me no occasion for enlarging myself at this time. There has lately fallen out some question between his highness and the parliament, as to the jurisdiction of the parliament as to their judicature without the Protector's consent;* but that business is like to end in love. Yesterday, the house was called; and upon the call, several members did appear who had formerly withdrawn themselves out of some discontent, but now rest satisfied to act with us. For other news, I refer you to the enclosed print, and remain,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

* This refers to the barbarous decision of the house in the case of poor Naylor. Cromwell's letter on the occasion was as follows:—"Having taken notice of a sentence by you, given against one James Naylor, albeit we do abhor such wicked opinions and practices, we, being interested in the government, desire to know the grounds and reasons how you proceed herein without our consent."—*Burton's Diary*, i. 246.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 8-18, 1657.

SIR,—About a week ago, the canton of Berne wrote to Zurich, praying them to put off their Arraw meeting till January 15-25, but they scarcely added any reason for that delay; wherefore the senate of Zurich answered, that it could not be put off. So that January the fifth, in the morning, the Zurich deputies went toward Arraw, in hope to find the deputies of the other protestant cantons there at night. How long the French ambassador will hold them there is uncertain.

A private letter from Berne tells me, that there they had a rumour that some forces of the emperor were coming toward Alsatia; and that others said, a peace, or at least a long truce, would be very shortly concluded between France and Spain. Some think that a major part of the senate of Berne desired to have some assurance of the truth of these reports, before they gave new instructions for their treaty with the French ambassador; and that therefore they desired to put off that meeting ten days longer. Howsoever, it is commonly said here, that Berne will not consent to include Alsatia in their renewed league with France. I know that Schaffhausen hath received a letter from the late Bishop of Basil's brother, who hath the title of the emperor's resident, admonishing them to look upon

Alsatia as a piece of Germany, and not yet so fully annexed to the crown of France as some would make them believe, France having not yet performed all the conditions requisite, and therefore the house of Austria not having perfectly quitted all pretensions, &c. But I do not hear that Zurich hath received any such letter; perhaps that resident thinks it unnecessary to dissuade the other cantons, believing them to be backward enough of themselves.

From Geneva, December 29th, old style.—Many unwelcome French guests are newly come to winter among our neighbours of Gex. It is the regiment of the Duke of Mercœur, consisting of one-and-twenty companies of foot in pitiful equipage. All tattered; most without swords. They look as ghastly as if they were newly come out of their graves. They make bold to take all that they can carry, and will, without doubt, be very troublesome to the poor peasants, whom they would constrain to buy clothes for them all, saying, “Many of our fellows are dead by the way, starving for want of clothes.” The troops of horse that came out of Italy are quartered in Dauphiné, Bresse, and Lyonnois, where they live after the old disorderly fashion.

From Rome they write, that the pope is grown pale by his much fasting, and often praying for the removal of the pestilence; and that the senate of Rome was gone in procession to Sancta Maria in Porticu, where there is an image of her, which, they say, fell from heaven, and hath oftentimes heretofore delivered Rome from the pest. They have vowed to bestow twenty-five thousand *scudi d'oro* in the building of a new chapel to her honour.

The senate of Milan hath begun this new year with extraordinary devotions to the protecting saints and the guarding angel of their city, because of the pestilence and war so near them.

At Venice, January 4th, new style, the pope's nuncio made a proposition in the senate, that the Jesuits might again be received into the favour of their most serene republic ; adding, that the pope earnestly desired that the Jesuits might be heard speak for themselves. They have privately promised to pay a very great sum of money into the public treasury at their admission.

Bolonia and Ferrara, and their territories, are now accounted free from all contagious diseases, and therefore are now admitted to trade freely at Venice and Milan, as formerly.

In the end of the old year, Belmont, one of the chiefest magistrates of the canton of Switz, fell mad. He says, the devil hath told him he will shortly fetch him away. He often cries out of *innocent blood spilt*. Many strange circumstances are spoken of ; but, till they are confirmed, they are not fit for the pen of
Your humble servant.

From Zurich, January 7-17.—By the last ordinary post that went hence to Geneva, our senate sent the French ambassador an answer to the letter which our deputies brought hither from him ; in which they prayed him to give more credit to what their deputies had said, than to the private suggestions of some malcontents.

Five days ago, the elder consul complained to the senate that two of the common-council had spoken very dishonourably of him ; they were therefore condemned to prison. But one of them, a captain, left his cloak in the serjeant's hand, and ran home *in cuerpo*.

From Basil, December 30th, old style.—Four regiments of French horse are already come into Alsatia. Colmar and Strasburg fear some design against them, and have therefore strengthened their garrisons, and are labouring at their fortifications. We have no less cause to suspect the intentions of France against Mulhausen, which the protestant cantons are obliged to maintain against all enemies.

From Chur, in Rhætia, December 29th, old style.—Count Alfonso Casati passed from Milan through this country. He is going to the Spanish ambassador, Pigneranda; at whose intercession, it is hoped,* that the house of Austria will send new supplies to Milan this next spring, if they can find madmen that will serve in that country, knowing how much the Spaniards have abused all those Germans that were sent thither those two years last past.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 8-18, 1656-7,
11 o'clock at night.

SIR,—I beseech you be not offended with a person who has, and shall, with all sincerity, serve you to the utmost of his power. I am afraid you begin to have hard thoughts of me by yours of December 18-28, which I received about a quarter of an hour since from Mr. Secretary. I have been so hurried, both upon the way, and also since I came home, that I hardly know what I write. I have not eat one meal of meat in season since my arrival, which was December 18-28. I have taken all the care possible about the letters, and trust that hereafter all shall be well. Mr. Secretary has commanded me to excuse him for not writing to you this week, being exceedingly weary, and full of business. I will assure you he has a singular

* The word *hope* was at this time commonly used in the sense of *to expect*.

respect for you. I shall not fail to serve your lady, or any that has relation to you, with all my might. I intend, God willing, within a few days, to visit her, and to deliver your children their tokens in your name. Yesterday, I gave the committee for the valleys an account of the state of those affairs in a discourse of an hour long ; and all this day I attended my Lord Protector and the council to give them an account at large in another discourse of all my negotiations ; but they were too busy, and I must do it another day. I have given in my book of accounts, and hope to come off with honour, notwithstanding all Mr. Chamberlain's accusations. My lord and the council have much taken to heart the condition of the poor people, and will send them the rest of the money, as I do believe, very speedily.

Mr. Sadler (between you and I) is extremely ill, and distempered more than you can well imagine ; you would wonder to hear some discourse which I have heard come from him, which has troubled me exceedingly, as much as if he were my own father : but, silence, I beseech you.

I beg of you to be patient with me for the failing of my letters, and the miscarriage of things in this troublesome interval, and I shall redouble my diligence for the future, to give you all satisfaction possible. I asked Mr. Secretary's leave to communicate with you every week, and he most will-

ingly consented, and commanded me to do it ; and you may promise any service that lies in the power of, Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I am sorry exceedingly for Holts Hall.

There is no news here, but only that there is some little difficulties concerning the act of decimation.*

MR PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 15-25, 1657.

SIR,—Yours of December 18th, with two enclosed, came to my hands January 10th. I am glad to hear that Mr. M. is arrived. I hope, by his care, your letters will come hither more orderly and more speedily than they did whilst he was on his journey.

The senate of Zurich named one of the greater senate or common council to be lieutenant of the prince elector's guard. I hear he hath his fifty Tigurines now ready to march towards Heidelberg.

From Berne, one writes thus :—The new bailiff of Lentsburg hath order to come to his bailiwick

* This was the act for a tax on the whole body of the royalists to support the militia, which was warmly defended by those who supported the major-generals, but was finally abandoned by the government.

within a week, not only to take possession, but also to reside in that castle, because of the fear that we have of troubles in Alsatia, Suntgow, &c., which will bring new inconveniences upon the city of Basil.

Colonel Mey will be going to Heidelberg with all his family within these few days.

The new Bishop of Basil hath a very good report. It is hoped he will be as peaceable a neighbour as his predecessor was.

From Chur, in Rhætia, January 6th, old style.—At the grand assembly of the Grisons at Tavos, Count Casati, the Spanish ambassador, with solemn protestations, pressed them to recall those four companies which serve the French in Italy against Spain. The deputies of the three Rhætian leagues consented, and sent a letter to the captains of those companies. The messenger that carried it is now at length returned with this account: “When I with one trumpeter came to the gates of Valentia, I was let in, with one corporal and two musqueteers, who brought me to the governor’s lodgings. He took my letter, and commanded me to be shut up in a chamber, where I was guarded eight days, so that I could not speak with anybody; meat and drink I had enough and good enough, but I lived all the while in great fear of their threatenings to make me pass through the arms, or to hang me for coming to such a garrison to debauch the soldiers. At length, they turned me out of the town without giving me any answer, or letting me see any one of our Grison soldiers.”

The Spanish ambassador is very angry that he hath thus lost his labour. He hath threatened to stop the yearly pensions which he is wont to pay in Rhætia. One of those four Grison captains is gone from Valentia to Paris; where, no doubt, he shall have occasion to speak of this revocation. Captain Peter Plant is returned out of Engadine; he arrived here yesterday.

It seems he will serve under Colonel Salis, who (it is said) hath agreed with General Enkenfort to bring him a regiment of cuirassiers. The said colonel went away three days ago toward Vienna, for he is to have his patent from the emperor; but he must be paid with Spanish money by Count Fuentes, who is at Vienna. The last letter that I had from Vienna tells me, that notwithstanding so many soldiers have been there executed for mutiny, yet the rest swear they will not serve the Spaniard, neither in Italy nor in Flanders.

From Arraw, January 13-23.—The deputies of the protestant cantons, by common agreement, framed a draught of a league with France; and yesterday morning they delivered it to the French ambassador, with a resolution not to recede from it. They continue also unanimous in the point of satisfaction for arrears, &c.

The protestant arbitrators are yet here; but they intend to meet the other at Olten to-morrow night.

The canton of Switz would not, all this while, *seal* the *Instrumentum Pacis*, hoping to draw the other popish petty-cantons to the same mind; but finding them all resolved to the contrary, they are, at last, brought to concur. So that the arbitrators now received it here, signed and confirmed with the seals of those five cantons.

Zug and Switz continue in their ill-will towards Colonel Tsweyer. Wherefore he prayed his own canton of Ury to invite Zug and Switz to send deputies that might be present at a full assembly, wherein he would make his defence against all that could be objected against him. At the day appointed, seeing no deputies sent from the two adversary cantons, they proceeded to give him a hearing; wherein he gave them so good satisfaction, that they have, with general consent, pronounced him guiltless; and promised him all manner of protection against all men.

You shall, at this time, be put to no further trouble by

Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, January 14-24.—The letter which our senate sent last week to the French ambassador at Soloturn was penned with some signs of resentment ; signifying, that we took ourselves to be a free people, and not slaves to France, so as to be awed and over-awed by the imperious commands of a French ambassador, taking upon him to prescribe us what time we should take for the trying of our delinquents ; that none of his predecessors had ever used such language to our ancestors, or to ourselves ; and that we thought it would more conduce to the service of the king, his master, if he returned to such a way of treating with us, as he had used at his first coming into this country.

Our senate (having received letters from the other protestant cantons, expressing a desire to meet at Arraw, there to consider the French letters) hath appointed January 20th, old style, for the day. But we do not yet know what deputies can be sent to Arraw from hence. Our consul and proconsul, who were wont to be sent, are lately so fallen out, that some think they can never be reconciled. The proconsul lays many things to the charge of the consul, of which he must clear himself, or else he will be thought unworthy of his honour and trust. Many endeavour to make them friends, and to send them again together to Arraw, six days hence. A few nights ago, one of the walking watchmen (a bellman) found a sheet of paper, which one of his fellows read to all the rest. It was a bitter libel against the consul, the general, and some few eminent persons of this city ; adding, that if those were not shortly removed from their places by form of law, it should be done by force of arms, sixty already having sworn to shew that consul no more favour than had been shewn to *Sir John Woodman** 169 years ago. The proconsul disavows this libel, protesting that he knows not the author ; and if ever he find him out, he will discover him, whosoever he be.

* “Ritter Hans Wald-man, burgomaster of Zurich, was beheaded, April 6th, 1489.”—*Pell's note*.

This week, the senate of Zurich hath received another letter from the King of France concerning the jewels ; wherein he requires them to be delivered, at Paris, into the hands of Colonel Rhon. This Colonel is an old man now in Zurich, not fit for travel, and having no intention ever to see France again. He will think himself hardly used if he be constrained to return into France for no other cause but that he may there receive the jewels which he hath now in his hands here. Some Tigurines say, it is a letter framed at Soloturn by that cursed ambassador ; for they cannot believe that the king or cardinal would make so unseasonable a demand, unless that ambassador had suggested it, and advised it.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 15-25 Jan., 1656-7.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 4th-14th December, and have nothing of consequence to trouble you with at present, save only in reference to our seasonable and happy discovery of a late bloody design to murder my Lord Protector. The persons who were to have put it in execution were employed and set on work by the Spaniard and Charles Stuart ; and were indeed men rightly qualified for so hellish an enterprise, being exceedingly bloody-minded, resolute, and desperate. Part of this business was, to have fired Whitehall ; and the truth is, it was come to such a maturity and ripeness, that the firework was placed in the chapel, and at work, before it came to be discovered, which was on Thursday night last, about eight or nine of

the clock. And (as near as can be guessed) by the length of the matches which were then burning, it was to have taken fire about midnight. The parties who did this are apprehended, and confess very much more.* For the transactions of the parliament, and such like affairs, I refer you to the enclosed print, and rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 15-25th, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 4-24th December, with the papers enclosed, Italian and High Dutch, and shall communicate the same as soon as possible, as I can, to Mr. Secretary. I have said in several of my letters that I received the great packet at Geneva, and now return you my most humble thanks for the same. For Mr. Ulrich's son, I shall serve him in whatever

* Some of the chief persons engaged in this conspiracy were violent republicans, but were acting under the direction of the Spaniard, and the English royalists, with whom they had been led to form a league, by their disgust at the present government of England. A chief instrument was one Miles Sindercombe, who was taken, tried, and condemned, for high treason. Many references to this occurrence may be seen in Thurloe, Burton's Diary, and the newspapers of the time.

lays in my power. The truth is, as yet, before my business is over, I cannot do what I would. My book of accounts for the monies remitted, where you are also mentioned, has been put to be examined, and found just and right, and my way of remitting better much than Major Chamberlain's, who, as the committee now confess, made too hard a bargain with them, and they say, he was not so charitable to the poor as he pretends. I am yet to give my accounts at large in a discourse before my Lord Protector and the council. Sir William Lockhart, who was knighted before his departure, set out for France about a week since in quality of his highness's ambassador; what his instructions are, I know not; but hope he will press the affairs of Piedmont with life.

Mr. Secretary has written you the story of the late plot to murder his highness, and I need not repeat it. There is nothing else of consequence. I thought really to have waited on your lady this day, but was necessarily hindered by a multitude of business; to-morrow, God willing, I shall not fail to go and present your five children with five gold angels according to your order, as I have this evening sent her ladyship a note, though it were after I received the enclosed from her to you. I also sent her word that I had minded Mr. Secretary twice or thrice about the 250*l.* sterling, which she recommended to my care; and M. S. told me, he would do it as soon as

possible he could. In all things of that nature, I shall not fail to do you the best service I can. I entreat you to send your letters to me distinctly, for I do not receive them always in time. If you please, you may enclose Mr. Secretary's in a cover to me hereafter, and so send them, and when they come to Paris, I have taken punctual order for their safe and speedy conveyance to me; if you please, you need not put them in a cover to Mr. Firbanck, as I before mentioned; you may also enclose the letter to your lady, and I hope you shall not fear the miscarriage of them. I humbly beg pardon for this scratching, and rest, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 22, old style.

SIR,—The last post brought me yours of January 1-11th, with a print. January 17-27th, the Zurich deputies came home from Arraw, where they, with the deputies of the other protestant cantons and their allies, had met about the renewing of their league with France, with an intention to come to a conclusion; but they are now parted without it, and without speaking of a day for a new meeting. The French ambassador said, Zurich had marred all the treaty, and yet he found the other cantons

of the same mind with Zurich ; for excepting Alsatia ; for choosing their own colonels and captains ; and in all other material differences between the old league and the new draught. The protestant part of the canton of Glaris had given their deputies such large instructions that they seemed ready to relinquish the other protestant cantons, and to promise for themselves alone according to such conditions as the ambassador required. But, when he told them that he desired a league, not only defensive, but also offensive, they were offended ; and became as averse from further treating with him as any of the rest could be. It is believed that all the deputies of all the cantons, when they went towards Arraw, did hope that they should make a full end of this treaty before they came back. The French ambassador seemed to think no less. Many colonels and captains were there seeking employment, and waiting to step in for the first promise, as soon as they could know whence it was to be had, from the ambassador as formerly, or from the respective cantons, according to the new draught. But their hope suddenly vanished ; and those officers now please themselves with laughing at one another. The protestant cantons wish that the king were truly informed of their offers, for they fear that his ambassador will send no true report of this treaty ; but they have not now any

public minister at the French court ; and therefore they have begun to think of writing to the Marshal de Turenne, praying him to represent the whole business, &c. If Sir William Lockhart were now at that court, they would crave the like favour of him, especially if they were encouraged by your faithful servant.

From Venice, January 10-20th.—Yesterday, the Jesuits were re-established here. To-day, the Moscovitish ambassador is to enter this city.

From Vienna, January 7-17th.—Some write that the Transylvanian prince Ragotzi is fallen into Polonia, with the consent of the Turks ; and that the Swedes have surrendered Cracow into his hands. Moravia is afraid he will come thither also.

From Zurich, January 21-31st.—Deputies from the protestant cantons should have met yesterday at Arraw ; but, by letters from Zurich to the rest, that assembly was put off till another time not yet named. It is said, that letters from Berne to the senate of Zurich desired that it might be deferred, some new disorders beginning in Berne and disturbing their councils, otherwise Berne seemed readier to meet than Zurich. For the enmity continues between the consul and the proconsul, who were wont to be sent as deputies from Zurich to all such assemblies of the cantons, nor doth there yet appear any sure sign of unfeigned reconciliation. Till the affairs of each canton be well settled at home, they will be unfit to think of any instructions for deputies to be sent to Arraw, where it was intended that they should consult concerning the letters lately sent from the court of France, and also should draw up a form of nearer union among themselves, having in their late war found great inconveniences for want of it ; and being taught by their neighbours (the popish cantons), who have within these three years made a new and strict union, and are likely to observe it more strictly than any league the protestant can-

tons will make. Some think there is a design to separate Zurich from the rest, because it was written out of France very lately, that the cardinal told the Basil deputy that the king would not trouble himself any longer with thoughts concerning a league with Zurich, hoping to come quickly to a conclusion with the rest of the protestant cantons, by leaving out Zurich, which never was in league with France till January 1614, (or 1613, as the English reckon.)

The same letters from Paris tell us, that the prince elector of Heildelberg hath promised that he will receive a French garrison into Tranhental; and the King of France hath promised to put Brisac into that elector's hands, with the government of Alsatia, and sufficient supplies of money, arms, &c., to keep it. If this prove true, Basil will hope for good neighbourhood from those that shall govern Alsatia under him. But other letters from Paris of the same date say, that the French court begins to despair of keeping the Austrians from the imperial dignity; and that their councils tend only to stand upon their defence in Alsatia; to which end eighteen thousand men shall be there kept in pay all the next summer. Yet some that pretend to know more, write that the French king will enter into a league which many German princes are forming against the house of Austria, obliging themselves to maintain an army of twenty thousand always complete, of which army the Prince Elector of Heildelberg shall be generalissimo, the Marshal de Clarembaut shall be general, and the Count of Grand Pré shall be lieutenant-general. Another writes, that the French ambassadors at Frankford have newly received order to tell the elector of Mentz that a French army will fall into his country as soon as he forsakes the French interest, and falls to the Austrian party.

We hear that Don John shall be recalled out of Flanders, and shall command the Spanish army in Portugal, and that our neighbour (the younger brother of the archduke, who resides at Insbrug) shall be governor of Flanders. Some add, that he shall marry the Spanish infanta and have those Netherlands settled upon her and her children, which is more likely than that they will marry her to the French king, for if their late born prince die before he have children, the crowns of Spain

would all become accessaries to the crown of France, which the privy council of Spain will hinder with the best of their understanding ; and to that end will endeavour to procure the imperial crown for the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and then give him their infanta for a consort.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 21st Jan. 1657, old style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The packet marked A. has been detained from me at least three weeks by the gross negligence of my servant, who never brought it me, nor should I ever have known of it but by accident. One of the other, I think, was not sent by the last post, by reason that I was employed so close by Mr. Secretary that my man could not come at me to give it me ; the other two I received this day. The parliament met yesterday ; there is nothing done as yet considerable ; what there is, I suppose you have in the enclosed news books. The cavaliers had fain designed an effusion of blood, but blessed be God that their design is in part prevented by a surprisal of a good part of them, as they were hatching mischief ; and by making good provision against the rest.* Mr. Secretary has been very ill this three weeks ; he has

* This reference is to Sindercombe's conspiracy.—*Burton's Diary*, I. 368.

besides lost two of his youngest children within these eight days. We have no French letters this week. I rest, in haste,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I have received all yours every week but this, (I know not what occasions the stoppage of the French letters ;) yours of the 24th December was the last received.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 22, 1556-7.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 24th and 31st of December ; but have neither time, nor indeed matter, of further enlargement at present ; we being very barren of all sorts of news. The parliament have spent this whole week in debates concerning the decimation, and to-morrow they have appointed for the further consideration and decision of the question.* For all other news I refer you to the enclosed print, and rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

* The proposed measure required the payment of one-tenth from the annual income of every known royalist toward defraying the extraordinary expenses said to have been imposed on the government by the restless disaffection of that party.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 22nd Jan., 1st Feb., 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 24th and the 31st of December, both together, from Mr. Secretary, this afternoon, and am extremely troubled at the slow pace of our letters, especially having done all in me to prevent the same; I am afraid the bad weather may be some cause. I will write again, and hope for all this to procure a remedy. I humbly thank you for the enclosed papers, the which shall be translated and given to Mr. Secretary. Yours to Mr. Hartlib the elder I sent the same hour, but I believe too late for him to send you an answer. I have sent the enclosed one from your lady, another from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, another from Mr. Hartlib the elder. The last week, I performed the commands as to your presents you ordered to your five children, but had not an opportunity of staying so long as I could have desired, or expressing to the full my affection to serve your lady, or any that relate to your honour: I hope, ere long, to have one. In the meantime, I am most ready to perform any service that lies in my power. I entreat you to direct your letters to me for the future, for if they be directed to Mr. Secretary, and put in a cover, it may be well two or three days many times ere I receive them. If you put them in a

cover to me, he shall quickly receive his, and so your lady hers, and Mr. Hartlib his ; when they come to Paris, I have taken order with my merchant there for the conveyance of them hither.

The last night, the final sentence was given upon my accounts of the remitted moneys, as well for what you had a hand in, as the other ; and it was this (which is to be represented by the committee for the valleys to his highness and the council at the next meeting) :—That the whole was managed with all possible faithfulness and prudence, and to the great advantage of the poor people ; and that the way I chose of remitting was far before that of Major Chamberlain ; and that Major Chamberlain should never touch more of those moneys. They have also designed to order me to make over immediately (as I think the next week) two thousand pounds sterling more for their present relief. I believe they will also give me a thousand pounds towards the printing of my history.*

My humble service to Mr. Ulrich. I have presented his paper of the Nicodemitish women. We have no women prisoners of the Spaniards ; but his highness, I believe, will try to exchange them for men ; wherefore it will be requisite that Mr. Ulrich send me the exact number, and their names, and

* This history was printed with a number of engravings, in the manner of the “Book of Martyrs.” Some of them offend against decency as much as against humanity.

then I shall do what in me lies to answer his desire ; and also when I have an opportunity to serve his son here, which I have not yet, I will assure you and him. I beseech your honour pardon my scratching, and believe that I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

Mr. Secretary is still examining prisoners about the last plot, and could not possibly write more largely to you at present. Here is really nothing of news. I know not what will become of the business of the major-generals :* you know the business, I presume. When it is decided, I shall give you information of the whole.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 27th (old style),
Thursday night, 9 of the clock.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have been employed in Mr. Secretary's business all this evening, and so been hindered almost from telling you that I have received yours of January 7-17, with the enclosed to Mr. Secretary and Mr. Hartlib, which were delivered so soon as I received them, which was about half an hour since. The parliament have done no-

* The act of decimation.

thing as yet, save only they have somewhat disagreed about having and owning the House of Lords ; but it is hoped that will be blown over. Mr. Secretary has been ill this month, and this is the first time of his coming abroad. Time calls me short, and suffers me to say no more, but that I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

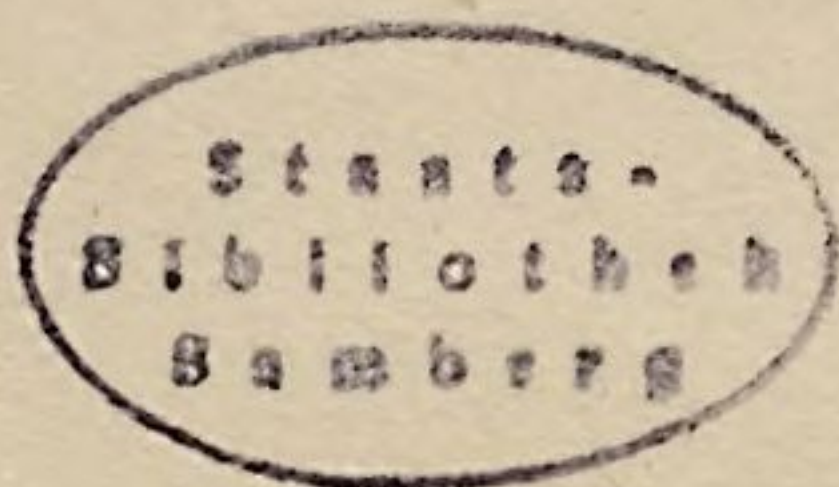
S. MORLAND.

The royalists are high, and threaten sudden action ; but I hope, an evil foreseen may be an evil prevented.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 29th, old style.

SIR,—This place hardly affords any news this week. The last week, fifty went from Zurich toward Heidelberg, to make up that elector's guard. In the protestant cantons, many seem much displeased that nothing is yet concluded in their two great businesses of restoring quiet at home, and renewing their league with France. It is said, the arbitrators, the next time that they meet, will openly declare how near they are come to an agreement. The common people murmur, and seem to fear a new civil war. To increase their discontent, the last letters from Nuremberg speak confidently that the imperial troops, which are now in Bohemia,



shall shortly come into Alsatia ; from whom the Switzers can expect no good neighbourhood.

From Venice, January 17-27.—Here we have no pest, but a very great number sick of the pleurisy. Our duke keeps his bed because of the gout. This hinders the Moscovitish ambassador's audience. The pope's nuncio hath given thanks to the senate for receiving the Jesuits again into their dominions. They are admitted upon certain conditions, whereof the nuncio hath a copy ; but they are not yet commonly known. It is said, that four of the most considerable men of that society will shortly be sent to this senate to lay a foundation for others, which will soon follow. Some say the plague increaseth again in Rome.

From Rome, January 10-20.—Half a million is taken out of the treasury in the castle of St. Angelo, because of the extraordinary necessities. The common people know not which way to turn them : all complain of want of money. Fifty have been lately sent to the galleys for robbing of houses during the great contagion.

From Milan, January 21-31.—At Naples, they are all freed from the pestilence by the intercession, as they say, of Beato Gaetano, the founder of the order of Theatines. Wherefore, as they made public and solemn vows to him in the time of the contagion, so now they begin to express their thankfulness. Those whom they call the elects of the city have gone in procession with the twenty-nine companies, each of them bearing a standard, whereon were painted the graces of that holy man, and these words :—*Ob urbem liberatam à peste, anno 1657.* They will also set up his statue in brass.

The last week's post brought no English letters to, Sir, your faithful servant.

Hitherto, many have thought the popish cantons did but feign a disagreement ; but now Switz proceeds violently against Colonel Tsweyer, of Uri. They have proclaimed him to be a traitor and heretic ; banished from their territories, and pro-

scribed, with a reward of two hundred ducats to him that brings Tsweyer's head. The canton of Uri hath written to all the uninterested cantons complaining of this violence, and appealing to the *Jus Helveticum*. It is said, the canton of Unterwald holds with Uri. What Lucerne and Zug will do is yet unknown. This division may be useful to some of their neighbours.

Here many wonder that Tsweyer is counted a heretic. But some remember, that about three years ago he passed through this town, and desired to speak with our burgomaster, Waser, who prayed him to come in, telling him that the English resident was there, whom he might see. "No," said Monsieur Tsweyer, "I dare not speak with him. My enemies begin to say I am a heretic. Curiosity must not persuade me unnecessarily to give advantages to them, who make it their business perversely to interpret all that I do or say."

It was commonly reported at Berne, that one of our Zurich burgomasters was imprisoned. But to-day their deputies at Arraw will see him there, with those two who were said to be his greatest enemies, the chief secretary of state, and his elder brother, a proconsul. They are reconciled, and rode away together yesterday from hence toward Arraw, having no other instructions than those which they had the last time that they were there together; and, therefore, we cannot see how the French ambassador will now advance his design for renewing the league, unless it be true which some whisper, that Cardinal Mazarin hath sent him order to yield in some particulars, rather than defer the treaty any longer.

Out of Germany they write hither, that the French have denounced war against the Elector of Mentz; intending to turn their greatest forces upon him, leaving Flanders to the English.

Some say the court of Vienna hath amused the Saxon elector with a motion of giving his daughter in marriage to the King of Bohemia. She is now almost fourteen years old. But other circumstances make us less apt to believe that report.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, January 29th, 1656, [-7.]

Thursday, 10 at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Just now I received yours of January 8-18 from Mr. Secretary. I hope for the time to come you will be pleased to put all under my cover. M. Pictet was very much mistaken, for General Montagu is still at his house at Hinchingbroke; neither do I hear at all of his return to sea as yet. I have not missed you a week for this long time, and shall not for the time to come, save only, it may be, the next week, at which time I think to go into the country to visit my friends. However, I desire you not at all to change your letters. I have taken punctual order about the letters, and my intimate to open the packet in my absence, and to give Mr. Secretary his, your lady hers, and to send me mine, for I go not far, and shall not stay long. Here is very little news stirring here, save only that the major-generals are voted down by the parliament.* I believe Mr. Secretary, who is now with my Lord Protector, will not write to you this night, and therefore I have sent you the enclosed news-book.

The last night, it was publicly voted in the council, that all my negotiations, during my abode be-

* These were the local collectors of the decimation tax, referred to in a preceding page.

yond sea, was managed with all faithfulness, and to their full satisfaction ; in particular, that my book of accounts is exact, perfect, and satisfactory. I shall send you, in the next letter, the copies of these and several other orders. I bless God I am come off with honour. I shall procure also, if possible, a particular order for your particular discharge, or, at least, a copy of a general inclusive one, which may include all your negotiations as to the collected moneys. They have ordered me, likewise, to send away this night orders for to remit two thousand pounds sterling to the valleys to supply their present wants. I am forced to say no more than that I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, February 11th.—A week ago, the Venetian resident here gave notice to this senate, that the republic of Venice desired the cantons of Zurich and Berne to send them six companies of foot, each of them consisting of two hundred soldiers, to be employed only in Italy or Dalmatia.

The deputies now assembled at Arraw conceived it fit, that the protestant cantons should write to the King of France and to Cardinal Mazarin ; and to that end, they there penned two letters, and sent copies of them to their principals, without whose approbation they might not be sent to France. The two hundred, or common-council, of Zurich have approved the substance of the letters ; but they dislike some passages, which

seem to express too great submission. They have therefore required their deputies to abstain from such excessive compliments, and to resume the forms of Switzerland.

As for the alliance with France, the deputies of Zurich are commanded to make no alteration in the articles which they delivered to the French ambassador in August last.

They have also admonished their deputies, now at Arraw, to consider with the deputies of the other cantons what answer is to be made to the ambassador's pretences that we have violated the perpetual peace of 1516, and what is to be done on our part to move France to confirm that perpetual peace, so that it may be observed when we are not in league with France.

At the same assembly of the two hundred, there was also read the contra-manifest of the canton of Uri against the canton of Switz, in the controversy concerning Tsweyer; but they came not to any resolution concerning it or the Venetian proposition. Many here are of an opinion that we should do very ill to send out many soldiers at such a time as this. Others say, we may, without any inconvenience, send the Venetians four hundred men, it being likely that Berne will send the other eight hundred, especially seeing it is their turn to name the colonel of the whole regiment.

SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Paris, February 2nd, 1656-7, styl. nov.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The advantage I received from the good correspondence I had with you before I left Paris hath encouraged me to desire the continuance of the same, and in the lieu of the trouble I shall hereby give you, I promise to acknowledge my obligations unto you by diligence in communicating unto you the news of this court. And if

there be anything else which may balance accounts between us, or make me capable of doing you further service, be pleased to be assured that my faithful endeavours shall not be wanting to witness that I am cordially, right honourable, your humble and most affectionate servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

My letters from England mentioned a discovery of two great plots against his highness, but the particulars are not yet come to my hands ; when they are, I shall send them to you. I entreat you (for the safer and speedier conveyance of my letters to Zurich) to send me the way of your address.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, February 12-22, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—On Monday last, I received at the same time yours of January 15-25, and that of January 22 (February 1), with all the papers of Italian news enclosed, and other letters, which I have safely delivered. I return your honour my humble thanks for the intelligence, but have not so much to return you back, as a recompence, from this place. General Montagu, who has now been in London about a week, commanded me yesterday to present you with his humble and

affectionate service, after he had much inquired of me concerning you and of your health, and returns you thanks for the mathematical papers you formerly sent him; but he complains that he cannot answer the problem about the hand-breadth. I have given the best order that I am able concerning the letters, and trust that there will be none stick so by the way as to be lost. Here, of late, all our post letters have been extremely retarded by foul weather at sea, or, at least, very cross winds. I believe Mr. Adrian Peters will hardly write this night, being so extraordinarily taken up with the affair of the last plot, which I believe was laid very deep, and persons of quality the chief contrivers of it. The man* who should have killed my Lord Protector is condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; this was appointed for the day of execution, but it is deferred, hoping that he may confess something considerable. There is no other news that I can think of at present worth the communicating, besides what is in the enclosed news-book.

I remain, right honourable, your most humble
and faithful servant, S. MORLAND.

* Sindercombe.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 12-22, 1657.

SIR,—The last post brought me, at once, two letters from you. The latter, of January 22, was very short; but the former, dated January 15, gave me a large account of the happy discovery of that horrid design, discovered the week before, in Whitehall chapel. I made an extract of all, and sent copies of it to some of the chiefest here and at Berne, deferring all further circumstances till I should receive a copy of that narrative, which the committee was preparing. In the meantime, my extract is here printed in the language of the country, and published to-day, that all may read it, and so much the better understand the preachers of Zurich and Berne, when, to-morrow, in their [ordinary] sermons, they shall make mention of that great mercy, and shall tell their hearers that, at the same time, in so many thousands of English congregations, thanks are given to the great and never-slumbering Protector of his people, &c.

As for the French league here, it is at a stand, neither part making any mention of a new meeting. Four days ago, the senate here called upon the committee of secret counsels for an account of the business of Olten, where the arbitrators have met so often about their civil war. After the senate had heard the account, they found reason to ap-

point their committee for war to meet. They met the next day. What their resolution was is unknown ; but it is guessed that this canton must again be put into a posture of war shortly. The papists brag that they will make Zurich refund all the costs of the late war ; and the subjects of Zurich say, they will rather fight it out to the last man.

From Berne, February 9-19.—About eight or ten days ago, between the mountain Gothard and the lake of Thun, our people felt sixteen or seventeen shakes of the earth ; and not only they, but many others also among us, say, that such earthquakes are signs of greater calamities.

Yesterday, the lords of Berne caused again to be published, in all the churches of their dominions, a very strict prohibition, that no subject of theirs do enter into any military service of any confederate state or prince whatsoever. They fear we shall shortly be constrained to make use of all our fighting-men for our own defence.

Here men commonly say, that if the arbitrators cannot agree in the question concerning the charges of the late war, so that we must needs choose a super-arbiter, then we of Berne shall name either the new Bishop of Basil or else the governor of the county of New-Castle (Nebenburg), who hath carried himself very fairly towards the four towns of our religion in that country. But yet we pray God to keep us from needing any popish super-arbiter in such a controversy.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 19th, old style.

SIR,—Three or four days ago, some here received letters from Soloturn, wherein the French ambassador gave notice that he had received letters from the court; whereupon it was believed that he would, as formerly, write hither for a new meeting at Arraw. But a little after, his secretary came hither, and is yet in the town. It is likely that he has come to prepare all things, that at the next meeting his lord may be more certain of a desired conclusion of the treaty. And yet, perhaps, that is farther off than he is aware of. Yesterday, I read a copy of a decree of the canton of Uri, dated April 11th, 1655; wherein they seem to express an irrevocable resolution to renew the league upon no other terms than those that were agreed upon with King Henry the Fourth, in the year 1602; adding, that they will not furnish France with soldiers to offend their other neighbours, or to maintain any late encroachments, but merely to defend those dominions in their more ancient bounds; and that no captain shall go out of their country, without solemn promise by his corporal oath (they are their words), that he will not serve the French king otherwise. It is likely that this is the sense of the other popish cantons, especially those five old ones which ordinarily run all one way. The

house of Austria hath always some among them to solicit and admonish upon all occasions.

The protestant cantons are also unwilling to promise France any assistance for Flanders, Catalonia, or Milan, but especially for Alsatia; saying, that it is too palpably against the house of Austria, and inconsistent with their ancient Austrian leagues, &c. But, for want of a good understanding between the protestant and popish cantons, no man in Zurich knew this resolution of Uri; but believed the French ambassador's emissaries, that all was concluded between him and all the popish cantons. But now they see it was not true then, and, for aught we know, it remains yet undone.

As for the other business of composing their quarrels at home, it is said, that shortly the arbitrators will send copies of their awards to all the cantons.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART.

Zurich, March 1st, new style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Letters from Whitehall come to my hands here ordinarily sixteen days after their date; but yours from Paris have not found so short a way since Mr. Morland left Geneva. Yours of December 1st was fifty days

upon the way hither, but yours of February 2nd was but twenty-two days old when I received it. Mr. Morland writes, that for the conveyance of letters between Westminster and Zurich he hath taken order with Mr. Jaques Tronchin (a banker of Geneva), and his correspondents in France. I therefore believe, that your letters will safely and speedily find the way hither, if they be directed to the said Tronchin; as you did, when Morland lodged in his house. For aught I know, there is no change made in the addresses at Paris or Lyons, so that a more particular direction is needless. Be pleased to send me an answer to this as soon as may be, that thereby I may know whether that way be so safe and speedy as we desire, or whether we must seek other intermedial hands more careful and diligent; that we may, without fear of miscarriage, maintain such a correspondence as the nature of our employments requireth. Wherein I hope to give sufficient proofs that I am, right honourable, your most faithful and humble servant.

J. P.

Of the plots mentioned in yours, the parliament intended to publish a narrative; whereof I hope to receive a printed copy from Mr. Secretary by the next post.*

* This narrative was published, see Burton's Diary, I., 368.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Feb. 19, March 1, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of 29th January, old style, together with the Italian papers (for the which I return you my most humble thanks), and a packet for Mr. Ulrich, which I have delivered him.

All the news we have at Whitehall is, that all the parliament dine here to-morrow, being invited by his highness. General Montagu has commanded me to present you with his kind respects and humble service. I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant.

He* that should have been hanged, drawn, and quartered, for his murderous design of killing his highness, poisoned himself the night before his execution.

My humble service, I entreat your honour, to Mr. Ulrich. Employments are not so common or easy to get for strangers as I fear he imagines.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 26, 1657.

SIR,—The secretary mentioned in my last came to me a few hours before he left this city, and

* Miles Sindercombe.

brought me a short letter of mere compliment from the French ambassador, which seemed written only to give him occasion to come and see me, lest others should blame him for staying three or four days in the town, and taking no notice of me. He came but a little before the post went away, when my despatches would not give me leave to cast away much time in ceremony with him who had no serious business with me. For it was not likely that he would tell me any secrets of the French court concerning the alliance with these cantons, whose minds he believed that I knew better than himself.

I have not yet heard how much he hath prevailed upon this city by coming hither. But I know that, February 22nd, an express brought letters to this senate from the senate of Berne, signifying that the French ambassador had sent a secretary to them, who proposed nothing new ; that they would not treat with that secretary, but prayed Zurich to call another meeting of the protestant cantons as soon as may be, that they may agree upon a message to the King of France, and may choose a man to carry it ; for they would not willingly have anything more to do with this ambassador. I have not yet learned what the senate of Zurich answered.

The arbitrators have not yet given any copies of their award ; but by their discourse it appeareth

that they cannot agree in one sentence; the protestant arbitrators condemning the popish cantons to repay Zurich and Berne the expenses of the war; and the popish arbitrators pronouncing as favourably for Switz and their adherents. They also disagree in the other great controversy, concerning the grievances of the common prefectures. The protestants will decree such an explication as was desired by Zurich; but the popish arbitrators will leave the treaties of religion as they were before the war; which indeed are sufficient, if the papists will sincerely observe them; but without a particular explication of them, Zurich cannot hope to be free from continual disputes.

Many are troubled to hear of this disagreement of the arbitrators. The five popish cantons (L. U. S. V. Z.) are afraid of a new storm out of Zurich and Berne; and therefore dare not yet accept of the fair offer from the city of Milan, which desires a regiment or two of popish Switzers, under officers of the cantons' choosing. The city will undertake to see them constantly paid; so that they shall be at far greater certainty than if they depended upon Spanish payment.

From Vevay, in the dominion of Berne, a captain wrote hither, February 17-27th, thus:—"Here we have a bruit, that Zurich will have another bout with the petty cantons. I pray you, let me have news with the first, for I like their cause so well that I shall willingly sacrifice my life before Rapperswill.

From Chur, in Rhætia, February 17-27th.—The Count Casati hath demanded a pass for six thousand foot, and three thousand horse, now ready to march from the emperor into Italy. The heads of the country have not yet given him an answer, but they have written to the next communities, that it is fit that two deputies be sent from each of the three leagues of Rhætia to meet in this town the next Thursday to consider what answer is to be given to the Spanish ambassador, &c.

As for the three persons sent to the inquisition of Milan by those of Switz, I shall make enquiry after them as you desire. Though, when one falls once into the hands of those inquisitors, we make no more reckoning to hear of him again, than of one that was never born.

From Lindaw, in Suevia, February 21st, old style.—The emperor hath named his young son, Ferdinando Aloysio Josepho. The court feasts were much troubled by the coming of an express from Constantinople, sent from the emperor's resident there, who wrote that the grand-signor made exceeding great preparations for war, and had resolved to force his way through Frioul, into Dalmatia, against the Venetians. This intelligence was also confirmed from the borders; whereupon they all went to council, and the young king of Hungary was called to sit with them the first time, February 11-21st. The Spaniards fear that this will wholly divert the promised assistance for Italy and Flanders. The emperor hath given out patents for ten new regiments.

From Zurich, February 26th, old style.—The last letters from Lyons tell us, that there, by the king's order, it is declared that the merchants of Zurich, Glaris, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, shall no longer enjoy in France any of the immunities and privileges which heretofore were granted them, in consideration of the perpetual peace, or later leagues; and that at Lyons, a great number of bales of merchandize are already stopped. It is observed, that Glaris and Appenzel are named, though they have no merchants, but Berne is not named; which some take for a sign, that this prohibition was principally aimed at Zurich. Others say, the king can reach Zurich no

other way ; but France borders upon part of the dominions of Berne ; he can tread upon their toes when he lists.

I have received and answered two letters from Sir William Lockhart since his return into France. The last post brought me nothing from Whitehall. But another way, I received a printed copy of the declaration for a day of public thanksgiving, February 20th, &c. It is now printed in the language of this country, and published to-day.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 26th Feb., 7th March, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of February 5-15th, with all the enclosed, especially that to M. A. P., which I have delivered, as likewise that to Mr. Hartlib. As for the calculation of the letters of the 8-18th January, truly, I never missed one as I know of since my coming home of writing to you at the due time ; if contrary winds or other accidents have hindered their arrival, I cannot possibly help it ; never a man could have taken greater care. If I can, I shall write to your honour every week. I desired leave of my own accord of Mr. Secretary to do it, to the end that I might have an occasion of serving you faithfully ; and if my other occasion will possibly permit me, I shall not fail. These

two or three last days in parliament have been spent in a debate concerning the changing of the title of protector to that of king, and so establishing the nation according to the ancient laws ; this has been only proposed as yet ; what will be the issue, time will shew. There is no news besides this considerable. The business of the major-generals is not yet ended. To-morrow, there is a fast in parliament for a blessing upon their debates and councils. Mr. Secretary, I fear, will hardly write this night to you. I am not very well at present, and can say no more than that I am, in much sincerity, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant.

I have sent you the printed news-book.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

5-15 March, 1657.

SIR,—Four days ago, an express came hither from Lucerne, sent in the name of those five popish cantons (L. V. S. U. Z.), whose deputies were then assembled there. He brought a letter to the senate of Zurich, (saying, that another of the same tenour was sent to Berne,) wherein they complain that Zurich and Berne are preparing for a new war, contrary to the last year's instrument of peace, which enjoins good neighbourhood and quiet expectation of the arbitrators' sentence. They add,

that here order is given to all, both foot and horse, to be ready at a day's warning, and that nobody go from home ; that the cannon and ships of Zurich are ready ; that the people are stirred by a detestable slanderous report that the last year some from Berne were carried away from Vilmerguen to Lucerne, and there long kept in a cave, and, at last, had their heads chopped off with a wood-cleaver's axe ; that the highways in this canton are levelled for the drawing of cannon, &c. They conclude with a desire to know the intentions of this canton, and a protestation that they are lovers of peace, &c.

The council of Zurich asked the messenger, "what preparations for war he had seen all the way as he came?" He answered, "that he found all quiet and saw no guards, or any sign of such stirs as they talked of at Lucerne." He said, he was but newly returned from Vienna, whither he had carried letters from the senate of Lucerne. Whereupon Zurich sent away that messenger, and gave order to their chief secretary to draw up a punctual answer to those of Lucerne, proving that they themselves are the authors and causers of all these reports.

The same day, this senate received a letter from the governor of Kingsfield (a senator of Berne), wherein he tells them, that the cantons assembled at Berne had resolved to put soldiers into Mellingen and Bremgarten ; but he would have an eye upon all their motions.

Also letters from Vevay (a town subject to Berne, near the lake of Geneva) signify that near St. Maurice there is now a meeting of deputies from Fribourg, Soloturn, Valesia, and Savoy. The senate hath also received a letter from one of their arbitrators, burgomaster of Basil, telling them that Lucerne wrote to him, praying him to admonish Zurich and Berne not to make any new broils, but to observe the articles of the late peace.

As for the French business mentioned in my last, the merchants of these cantons were sending a great number of bales of merchandize towards France, but now have stayed them and laid them up at Morges (a town standing upon the Berne side of the lake of Geneva), intending to let them lie there awhile, in hope that the court of France will shortly revoke these new orders for exacting great and unusual imports, contrary to the immunities which they have enjoyed so many years. The greatest complaints came from the merchants of Saint Gall, in whose favour letters are now sent, in the name of all the protestant cantons, to the king, to the cardinal, to the Archbishop of Lyons, and to the French ambassador at Soloturn.

Zurich hath also resolved to write to the other protestant cantons to send deputies to meet theirs at Arraw, March 17th.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE, OR
MR. MORLAND.

March 5-15th, 1656-7.

SIR,—The last post brought me a letter from Mr. James Tronchin to accompany yours of Feb. 12-22, and to excuse the rough handling which it had undergone. He says, it was *rongé d'un costé dans une valize mouillée dez Londres à Paris*. Indeed, one end of the cover was wholly rubbed away, so that it was easy to take out all the enclosed letters ; but I do not perceive that anybody had touched them : the seals of Mr. Hartlib's three letters were unbroken ; but I could not know whether somebody had not taken out your unsealed letter and read it ; if they did, they found no secret in it. They might trouble themselves to find out what great mysteries of state were hidden under those dark terms of a problem about a hand-breadth propounded to a general, who complained that he could not answer it ; yet, I think, both he and you can answer it, if ye would vouchsafe to go about it in good earnest. I hope I shall have leisure the next week to give you my reasons why I think so ; in the meantime, I pray you present my most humble service to the general. Sir, you will thereby oblige your faithful servant.

I have sent Sir W. Lockhart copies of these French papers. I pray you let M. A. P. know their contents.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, March 5-15, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Though I am thronged with a multitude of business, yet I shall not omit the opportunity to assure your honour of the receipt of yours of the 12-22nd February, with yours to M. A. P., which (as all of that superscription) I have faithfully delivered to him; whether he can write to you this post, I know not. I humbly thank you for your Italian papers, as also that of Switenses.

There has been lately a bill presented in parliament by Sir Christopher Pack, an alderman, for the re-establishing a kingly government, the scanning whereof takes up all their time, and causes many serious debates, (I was about to have written hot debates, by some particulars.) They have nevertheless, as I hear, passed several articles or heads thereof. They leave the article wherein his highness is desired to assume the titles, dignity, &c., of king till the last.* A little time may pro-

* The postponement of this article was the result of an interview between the protector and the officers of the army, who were opposed to the measure.

duce great matters, and then you shall have them more at large from, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

If Mr. Hartlib's letters are unnecessary, it will better come from you than me to let him know so much.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 12-22nd, 1657.

SIR,—I have not heard that the affairs of these countries have made any progress this week. The merchants in this country fear that the court of France will not rest contented with arresting their goods at Lyons, and forcing them to pay imports as high as any other merchant. They doubt they shall be also constrained to lend the king some great sum of money, as in the year 1639; but, others hope that the king will shortly revoke all these new commands, especially if the turn of his affairs compel him to seek the friendship of this people, rather than disoblige them. Out of Suevia some write, that, at Vienna, there is a great abatement of the rumours concerning the Turks falling into the emperor's dominions; so that now eight regiments of imperialists are marched towards Milan, and more shall be sent after them; some

think this change may alter some of the French councils concerning these countries.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

P. S. Since I wrote this, I hear that the senate here hath just now received letters from Lucerne, thanking them for their friendly answer to their former letters mentioned in mine of last week.

All popish cantons have deputies now at Lucerne, consulting with Crivelli, a Spanish agent, concerning sending two thousand Swisses to Milan, this spring.

From Zurich, March 11-21st.—This week hath afforded no state consultations here, and intelligence from abroad comes in slowly, because the ways are everywhere so filled with water that the messengers cannot arrive at their usual time.

The letters out of France say, that some of our Swisses went from Paris towards Mardike and Bourbourg; that the popish Swisses are ready to mutiny, saying, they will not be with the English,* whose good success they desire not to see, as being the greatest enemies they have in the world. Other French letters tell us, that Mareschal de la Ferté is designed for this summer in Flanders, and Turenne against Germany, where the French think themselves sure of the Heidelberg Elector, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Margrave of Durlach; but they cannot yet find any bait sweet enough to entice Hessen to bite. That Monsieur Balthasar shall be lieutenant-general of the French army against Germany; he is now in the French court treating for the Elector of Heidelberg. Monsieur Jaesch, who would be called the deputy of the protestant can-

* The English troops who were sent to aid the French against the Spaniards, in accordance with Cromwell's treaty with France.

tons, finds very cold entertainment and small respect at that court, nobody there vouchsafing to acquaint him with anything, so that he begins to suspect that the French have some design upon Mulhausen, or some other place in our borders, that they may bring us and force us to stand in fear of them.

Out of Germany men write, that the ambassadors of France and Spain have order to visit one another, and to use all civility on both sides; so that the Spanish ambassador, having sent some officers before him to Frankford, Marshal de Grammont feasted them, and, amongst the healths that went about, said aloud, *the devil take all them that hinder the peace between the two crowns*; this gave occasion to much discourse in Frankford, where they say, the Venetian ambassador solicits very hard at the French court for a peace with Spain, pretending that, without it, the Turks will get Candia, and then all Italy will be open to them. The pope's nuncio seconds him, adding, that France, by joining arms with England, shall certainly pull upon itself these two unspeakable mischiefs—the extermination of the catholic religion in Flanders, and the support of the seditious Huguenots and all malecontents in France. These things are believed by many, especially those who, from the beginning, said that the French councils really tended to peace with Spain, and that their tampering with England served only to force the Spaniards to give them better conditions than otherwise they would have done.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 19-29th, 1657.

SIR,—The last week, in a postscript, I made mention of letters sent from Lucerne to the senate of Zurich; in them the senate of Lucerne promised to communicate the Zurich letter to their four neighbouring catholic cantons, which it seems they

have now done. For, yesterday, the senate of Zurich received a letter from Lucerne, wherein the deputies of those five cantons there assembled had written very friendly, protesting their desire and intention to keep the peace. That assembly is now dissolved, that the deputies may keep their (new style) Easter at home, three days hence ; but they have promised the Spanish agent that, after Easter, they will return to Lucerne, as soon as the city of Milan hath sent them money for their levies.

Two days ago, deputies went from Zurich to Arraw, there to meet the deputies of the other protestant cantons, and to consult concerning their treaty with France ; but they gave the French ambassador no notice of that meeting, as not desiring his presence there. Some are very forward to conclude the league ; others are not much averse from it, but are unwilling to treat with this ambassador. They believe he does them all manner of ill offices in the court of France, whither they would have an ambassador sent from hence forthwith.

The last letters from Bergamo contradict what was written concerning the Duke of Mantua in the last letters from Milan, of which I have sent Mr. Morland a transcript ; whether of them gave the truer intelligence, the duke's actions will shortly discover. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

From Saint Gall they write, the imperial troops begin to march towards Italy, through several ways. The most of them are to pass through Suevia, Lindaw, Bregents, and the Valtoline.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 19-29th, 1656-7.

SIR,—The last week's Geneva post brought me two letters from you, dated February 19th and 26th. They tell me that mine of January 29th and February 5th are come to your hand.

That great business which the parliament had then in hand fills all men here with expectation of the issue;* and therefore I thank you for speaking so plainly of it. Mercurius Politicus speak so darkly that no man could possibly have found out what it was. I shall hope in your next to hear more of it. In the meantime, I remain,

Sir, your faithful servant.

Letters from Bergamo say, that the Duke of Mantua will remain neutral, which contradicts that which I here send you, written at Milan.

* The project of restoring the monarchy in the person of Cromwell.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 19-29th March, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 19th and 26th February, old style, with all the papers and letters enclosed; but the truth is, I neither was the last week, nor am I at present, in a condition to give you a very large answer. As for my accounts, they will be very suddenly printed, and then, I hope, you will see to your satisfaction all that can concern yourself therein. The pope's two letters are translated, and the French ambassador's also, and shall be presented to M. A. Peters; but the plain truth is, he is hardly at leisure either to read or think of anything else but the great business of kingly government, which the parliament has already very far advanced. These last two days, they have been upon the matter of religion. The soldiers remain very faithful to his highness, and have declared to live and die with him.* Here is nothing else of news that I can think of at present. Mr. Meadows, who was sent to Portugal, is now going agent to the King of Denmark very suddenly; but, it may be, he will stay till his highness be proclaimed king, if he be

* Yet the officers generally were opposed to Sir Christopher Pack's bill for investing him with the title and authority of king.

at all; which is something uncertain as yet, but very probable. I have sent your honour two enclosed packets from Mr.*, (I profess I cannot think of his name on a sudden.) Your lady told me yesterday, that you desire I should remit your moneys from hence to Zurich, by way of M. Tronchin; if you please to give me your punctual directions in it, I shall endeavour to acquit myself, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I humbly beg your excuse and pardon for this my odd kind of writing, being, indeed, not very well at present, and having very much to write.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 26th.

SIR,—The last post-day (after I had sent away my letters to you), the young Count of Hohenloe came to me. He prayed me to give notice of his being here, and of his resolution to return shortly into England. He went hence the next morning, to Basil, intending to pass through Arraw, that he might there speak with the deputies of the protes-

* Hartlib, as Pell has noted in the original.

tant cantons. But I doubt he found not one of them there ; for the same day, in the evening, the deputies of Zurich came home. Whilst they were at Arraw, they wrote letters to Soloturn, to the French ambassador, not at all touching the league, but complaining of the hard usage of their merchants at Lyons. The next day, he sent them an answer, wherein he would persuade them that of that innovation at Lyons he had not heard anything, save by their letters ; that he knew not what answer to make till he had received letters from the court concerning it. He also put them in mind of the league.

At Arraw they all agreed to except Alsatia, and thought it fit to send a deputy to the French court to represent their reasons why they cannot include it, if they renew the league ; and also to intercede for their merchants. But they did not proceed to name some man for that journey, because they would first see how that king will answer that letter.

The arbitrators have put them in hope of a quiet composure of all at home, so there shall be no need of super-arbiter. They say, that after Easter week, they will meet again at Olten about it.

From Vienna, some write that they are frightened with fresh reports of the Turks drawing near, to fall into part of the emperor's dominions.

What I have from Milan and Geneva, I have sent in Italian to Mr. Morland ; and therefore you shall here receive no further trouble from

Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, March, 25th, old style.—The French court hath not yet sent us an answer to the letters written hence, concerning the league, in the name of all the protestant cantons. In the meantime, we have some companies in the French service never recalled ; but, as they were out, recruited by connivance. The last week, one of those captains returned hence into France ; his company had been much weakened this last summer in Italy, but he had secretly gathered above eighty men ; and, at his going hence, appointed them a place to meet him, out of the limits of this canton.

This last week, there hath been an assembly at Baden of all the colonels and captains that pretend to a share in the French jewels ; they stayed there but a day and a half. It is not yet known what they have resolved to do with those jewels that are at Zurich, or the rest which have been all this while kept at Schaffhausen.

Two of the Zurich captains appointed to serve the Venetians this summer are said to be ready to march ; the third hath not his number yet complete ; he went into the country to seek soldiers, but was brought home sick. The Berne colonel and captains have been here with the Venetian resident ; we think it will be hard for them to find six hundred men willing to go into Dalmatia, the boors of Berne being averse from the Venetian service, and choosing rather to serve the French. Here we begin to say, that the Venetians are not in so great danger as they have given out ; for we see that the letters from

Vienna express a great fear that the Turk will invade Hungary and Austria, though he pretend his design to be only against the Venetians.

From Heidelberg, March 11-21.—The Spanish ambassador, Pigneranda, entered Frankford, March 4-14; and the King of Hungary, eight days after. He is much displeased with those that persuaded him to move so slowly; he believes that the news of the Swedish success in Denmark may much hinder the Austrian counsels. To facilitate his election, some pretend assurance that he will quit the Spanish party and interest, embracing only counsels of peace, and such as may prevent all new troubles in Germany. We hear that neither Bradenburg nor Bavaria will appear at Frankford; nor do we see any great sign that our elector resolves to be there. Whensoever he goes, during his absence, the Prince of Landsberg is to be lieutenant-governor of the palatinate.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 26th, 1657.

SIR,—In yours of March 5-15, I received one from Mr. Hartlib, containing a Mercurius Politicus, as you guessed. If I were sure that it were not troublesome or burdensome to you to send me one every week, I should pray him to spare that labour hereafter. What you wrote concerning Alderman Pack's bill was useful here, for others had received news that all was concluded and finished. Though I believe you are overcharged with business, yet I hope you will be able every week to spare a few minutes for me, that I may know what progress is made in that great consultation.

The last week, I wrote you that men wrote hither from Bergamo, otherwise than from Milan, concerning the Duke of Mantua ; but from Milan they continue the same intelligence, as you will see in the adjoined Italian, which I pray you communicate to Mr. A. Peters. If that from Genoa be true, before this can come to your hands, you may receive letters from the fleet concerning some action.

You have not yet told me how I must now superscribe my letters to Sir William Lockhart ; I pray you forget it not the next time that you write to your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, March 26th, April 5th, 1656-7.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of March 5-15, with the enclosed letters and papers, and return you many thanks. The last night, the parliament passed the great article, to propound to his highness the title, dignity, &c., of king. So that that business will now be very shortly ended. Other news we have none here.

I entreat you to present my humble service to Mr. Ulrich, and many thanks for his kind letter. About two or three days ago, I procured of Mr. Meadows to accept of Mr. Ulrich's son for his se-

cretary in this negotiation to Denmark, and the thing is absolutely concluded ; he has already given him twenty pounds to buy him a suit of clothes ; and if there be any accidental charges in the journey, he will not bear it. And when they return, if he oblige Mr. Meadows by his faithful service, he intends to give him an honourable gratuity, according to the time. I have informed him of all things that will be required on his part, and desire his father to give his son good instructions (as I know he will) ; for this is not an unlikely way for his future advantage. If he pleases Mr. Meadows, he intends to recommend him to his highness and the council at his return. I came in the very nick of time, for I found another person of consideration recommending another pretty man to Mr. Meadows for the same employment ; but he being my friend, I took him off, and now it is past fear or doubt. There were also some that had very like to have spoiled the business since, by putting it into Mr. Ulrich's head to capitulate with Mr. Meadows about certain conditions, &c. And I had something of difficulty to keep Mr. Meadows after from some disgust about it ; but now all is well. Mr. Secretary is wholly taken up about the kingly affair, and I believe will scarce write this post. There were several bitter speeches made last night in parliament against this business ; but they could

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not carry it, there being almost two to one against
them and for it.*

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I entreat you to excuse my not writing to Mr. Ulrich ; you may guess the reason by this scratching letter to yourself.

SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Paris, March 27th, old style, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Yours of March 19-29 came just now into my hands, and I have received the three others you were pleased to take notice of, and return my humble thanks for the many favours of that nature you have honoured me with.

My letters from England bear what the first article of the remonstrance (which relates to kingship) was, after the passing of all the rest debated in the house upon Wednesday last, and was brought to a vote on the Thursday, and carried in the affirmative ; there were one hundred and twenty-four for it, and sixty-two against it. The whole re-

* The numbers on the division upon the article offering the Protector the title of king (March 25) were, according to the Journals, one hundred and twenty-three in favour of the measure, and sixty-two against it, as mentioned in the next letter.

monstrance is ordered to be engrossed, and is to be presented to his highness this week, the title of which is voted to be, *The Honourable Petition and Advice of the Parliament to His Highness the Lord Protector.*

The particulars of the arrest and seizure here of all Holland's goods and vessels will be with you before this can come to your hands, and therefore I shall not trouble you with any account of that affair; only I hope the business shall come to an accommodation.

The Duke of Mantua hath quit all pretence of neutrality, and has declared for the Venetians. The alliance and good correspondence betwixt England and France rather increaseth than diminisheth.

Having nothing else of importance to impart, I am bold to renew the assurances of my being, Sir,
your most faithful and humble servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 2-12, 1657.

SIR,—Yesterday, I was visited by an Italian, that calls himself Hippolyto Gabrielli de Beccaresca. He said, that he was sent by the generalissimo of Sweden (the king's brother) to all the princes and estates of Germany. He had been in the army six

weeks ago ; was but twenty days in the way from Stettin hither ; passed through Schaffhausen ; had brought letters from General Wrangel to the two Werdmullers (the general of Zurich and his brother), who had shewn him all the fortifications of this town. He intended to go hence to Berne, and then homeward, through Heidelberg. He said, he had been in England and in Scotland, knew all our chief men, both soldiers and senators, &c., and those about King Charles too, Dr. Browne, Dr. Earles. I asked him what picture it was that he wore. He said, it was the new King of Sweden. He shewed me also the queen's picture. If he hold his resolution, he is now gone hence. Men trouble themselves to guess at his business ; but, when I consider his rambling way, of staying but a day or two in a place, he seems to me to be only sent to make a running view of Germany, and to mark whether there be any preparations for war anywhere, and to observe the discourse of others concerning the actions and intentions of the King of Sweden.

From Chur, in Rhætia, March 30th, old style.—Some imperial troops are passed into Italy. At Como, there are twelve hundred foot. It is thought they shall stay there till all the rest come to them, that they may go altogether to their place of employment. The King of Sweden hath dismissed the emperor's resident, and the emperor hath sent away the resident of Sweden ; which we take for a sign the emperor will take King Casimir's part.

From another hand, the same place and day.—The Duke of Mantua hath commanded all his subjects to abstain from all commerce with Valentia; so that nothing can enter that town from the side of Casal. If the French army do not bravely beat their way into the plain of the state of Milan, Valentia will soon be quite blocked up. Some letters tell me, that the imperial troops, which begin to pass towards Italy, are very inconsiderable. For want of money, they sell their horses where-soever they can find a buyer by the way. The men are most of them less than twenty-four years old, having never seen the war, to which they have no inclination, but are constrained to turn soldiers, because they cannot get their bread by the trades to which they were brought up.

From Zurich.—We think the arbitrators are now at Olten. In hope of some news from them, I deferred the writing of this as long as the post would give me leave. I hear that the burgomasters here have just now received the instrument of peace, sealed, brought by one of the city riders of Basil. I have not time to inquire more into circumstances. I guess that it is no other than the instrument agreed on about a year ago, and delivered, three months ago, to the arbitrators, signed and sealed by the five little popish cantons (as I wrote to you January 15-25), but kept in the hands of the arbitrators till now, for reasons better known to themselves than to

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 2-12, 1657.

SIR,—I hope the next post will bring me two letters from you, for this week I received none out of England. You will easily believe, that many here are inquisitive after English news at this time, because others have written hither, that great changes are there endeavoured by some, and violently opposed by others.

I have this week sent to Sir William Lockhart copies of two French letters concerning the poor Waldenses; one from themselves to the French ambassador at Turin, dated March 3-13; the other from a minister in Dauphiné to Messieurs Leger and Turretini, of Geneva, dated March 6-16. If you answer to this, and tell me that they have not sent you copies of them, I will send them to you, for it is not fit you should be without them.

Yesterday, one Gabrielli, an Italian, that says he hath been in England, but is now an officer in the Swedish army, told me, that, a few days ago, one had shewn him a letter, wherein Mr. Secretary Thurloe had written, that Sir Oliver Fleming would be at Zurich shortly, and was making great preparations for his journey. I did not believe him, because, if it were true, I think you could not be ignorant of it, and would not conceal it from

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I return you my humble and hearty thanks for yours of March 12-22, especially for the answer to the problem concerning Solomon's sea, which I know will likewise be most acceptable to General Montagu. On Tuesday last, a certain number of select persons of the parliament had a solemn meeting and audience of his highness, in Whitehall, in the banqueting-room ; where Mr. Speaker, in the name of all the rest, propounded unto him a new model of a kingly government, and to his own person the title and dignity of king. To which his highness made answer, that, as it was a serious affair, so he required some time to give them a categorical answer, which, notwithstanding, should be as soon as might be. Opinions are very various, whether he will accept it or no ; but that a little time will shew. This is all the news here ; indeed, there is nothing else done and talked of here.

Your lady did exceedingly expect some letters from you by this post. My humble service to Mr. Ulrich. I shall tell you a secret, and entreat you to keep it so, till you hear it from other hands, or further from me, especially from his father (I being obliged thereto by a promise.) Mr. Ulrich's son here has run in debt, as it seems, these three years, to the hostess where he has lodged, the sum of

sixty pounds sterling, and thought to have gone without paying, as it seems. But his hostess, perceiving he was making his clothes for a journey beyond sea with Mr. Meadows, arrested him; and he is now in the hands of the serjeants, and I fear it will not only spoil his reputation here for ever, but hinder his journey. Mr. Dury and Sir O. Fleming are trying what course may be taken to extricate him. I wonder the son should be so void of sense, and the father of care, as to let a score run for three years. But I entreat you, once more, not to say anything till you hear further from me.

Your honour's most humble and faithful servant,
S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 6-16, 1657.

SIR,—The emperor's death begins already to put our neighbours into action.* At Heidelberg, the prince elector hath printed and published a proclamation, as vicar of the empire in a great part of Germany. I have, this week, sent a written copy of it to Mr. Morland; as also a copy of that which the Duke of Mantua published at Casal, eight days

* Ferdinand III. died March 23rd (old style), 1657. His successor was not elected until the year following, on account of the disputes about the electors, &c.

before the emperor died, wherein he styles himself general of the Keisar's armies, and his imperial vicar in Italy.

Yesterday, I received a letter from Lindaw, wherein one writes thus :—"I hear that this pope begins to speak of calling a council, wherein he will grant the *chalice* to all the laity, who have been so many hundred years admitted only to the half-communion."

The Elector of Bavaria hath published a proclamation to signify that he is vicar of the empire, and hath sent a printed copy of it to Augsburg, where it stands fastened to the senate-house door. The drummers beat up and down the streets of that city for soldiers for the Elector of Bavaria, who gives out that he will raise six thousand horse, and as many foot, to keep Germany quiet. Of the other electors, we have not heard anything. The Elector of Mentz hath not yet prescribed the day for their meeting at Francfort for the new election.

The last letters out of Italy say, that the popish electors intend that Archduke Leopold shall be emperor, and his nephew (the King of Hungary and Bohemia) shall be chosen King of the Romans at the same time. But some say, the Elector of Bavaria seeks the imperial crown for himself, and shall have France to help him in it. If all these designs fail, they will choose the Elector of Saxony for emperor, upon condition that he will turn ca-

tholic, which, they say, he hath already promised them, and, it seems, was feared by his subjects ; for a book (written by a well-known author, a Lutheran, and printed, this spring, at Francfort) tells us, that, when they did homage and took their oath of allegiance to this new Elector of Saxony, they did it with this caution, that they would stand disobliged and absolved from their oath if he made any alteration in religion.

I have, to-day, sent Mr. Morland a copy of the sentence of the protestant arbitrators of Basil and Appenzel, printed at Zurich, in High Dutch. I have not yet heard that the popish arbitrators' sentence is printed. I hope I shall be able to send them both, in Latin, the next week. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 9-19.

SIR,—April 5-15, an extraordinary post brought here the first news of the emperor's death. He died at Vienna, the Monday before our English Easter, (that is, March 23, old style,) between four and five in the morning ; at which time, a fire began in the palace, but was soon quenched, having done little hurt ; which some take for a sign, that

though, upon this sudden change, some fire of discord, and perhaps war, may arise, yet the house of Austria shall receive no damage thereby. But it is said, Flanders and Poland shall not now receive assistance from Vienna, as was intended if the emperor had lived. Nor will they send any more soldiers into Italy against Modena and the French, this spring ; all their counsels now only aiming at the keeping of the imperial crown in that family.

April 6-16, a secretary of the state, by the council's order, brought me the originals of the *sentences of the arbitrators*, subscribed by them January 20-30, but not sent hither till a few days ago. We read them over together. They are in High Dutch, and not yet translated into any other language. The protestants have condemned the other side to pay the charges of the war ; the popish arbitrators do as much on the contrary. So that their verdict is but little worth as yet. But the arbitrators have written, that they will shortly call a general meeting of all the cantons at Baden. If they desire the English resident to appear also, it will be an occasion of extraordinary expenses, and, I fear, much greater than those of the same place this time twelvemonth.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, April 9-19, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have but this moment to assure you of the receipt of yours of the 19-29th March, with the enclosed, which are delivered. Not many days ago, his highness denied the crown, after the parliament made a vote of adherence to their former resolution, and thereupon sent a committee, yesterday, to his highness, to whom, in the banqueting-house, his highness made a speech so dark that none knows whether he will accept it or no; but some think he will accept it. The Lord knows the issue of these things! The parliament are, I think, providing reasons to persuade him. I am cut off, and rest, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant, S. MORLAND.

Mr. Ulrich is in prison, and Mr. Meadows has heard of it by Mr. Hartlib, who came this day to recommend another. Mr. Meadows is troubled for the 20*l.* he gave him, which turns to my great dishonour, and I fear will prove Mr. Ulrich's ruin. I have tried by all means to appease Mr. Meadows for a day or so, till I can see what may be done.

SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Paris, March 20, 1657, new style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 1st instant (new style) ; it was seventeen days coming to my hands, and no longer, which makes me wonder that mine were so long on the way to you. I shall endeavour hereafter to convey my packets unto you according to your directions, and with more speed, by the means of Mr. Tronchin, if he will grant me the favour by taking the trouble upon him.

The letters which came this day unto me from Mr. Secretary import that a vote for the reestablishing a house of lords, and giving power to his highness at any time during his life to nominate his successor, hath past the parliament in the affirmative ; and we have hopes that they will proceed in the farther settlement of the government to the glory of God, and the people's great advantage. I have nothing more at present but to acquaint you that, the last week, I had my audience from the king, queen, and cardinal ; and that I was received in this court with much honour and civility.

I desire (if you prove the way I have taken of sending unto you to be the best) to hear from you as often as there shall be occasion, and do entreat you to believe that your favours of that kind shall

be always faithfully answered in the like nature by,
right honourable, your most humble and affectionate servant,
WILL. LOCKHART.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 16-26th, 1657.

SIR,—Mr. Ulrich hath promised to write to you to-day ; he sent me his son's letter, wherein he acknowledgeth the great arguments of your good will towards him and endeavours for him. It may be for his advantage hereafter, though now something should intervene and hinder his journey into Denmark. When you have leisure, I pray you tell me a little more concerning that Mr. Meadows, with whom he should go, for I never saw the man ; I have two or three blind conjectures concerning him, which are not worth the writing.

Together with this, I send you the proclamations of two vicars of the empire (Modena and Heidelberg.) The next week, I hope to get that of the Elector of Bavaria, for his is also printed and published, but not yet come hither.

The printed sentence which I have adjoined may be laid up in your archives. I have not yet heard that the popish arbitrators' sentence is printed. I hope I shall be able to send them both in Latin

the next week. Some say, there will be a general assembly at Baden, for those affairs, May 18-28th.

The last letters of Geneva tell us, that the poor men in Piedmont are again so hard pressed to sell what they have beyond the Pelice, that they have now resolved to take the money that is offered, though they know not where to bestow it, to buy other land. The Turin court puts them to another trouble concerning their ministers. They have but thirteen ; nine of them are strangers ; these are cited to appear at Lucerne, where they fear they shall be ill-used ; and yet if they go not, they shall be outlawed and forced to forsake the country. I hope your correspondents at Geneva have written hereof more at large,

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

P. S. I thank you for your parliament news in yours of March 26th.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 16th April, 1657,
between eleven and twelve at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have not possible time to write distinctly of anything this time. Mr. Ulrich's son is still in prison, and so like to be ; he has sold the clothes he bought with the 20*l*. Mr. Meadows gave him upon my word, and so

cheated Mr. Meadows and disgraced me. I am obliged to Mr. Meadows for the money. I hope Mr. Ulrich of Zurich will immediately pay it to me, or to Mr. Meadows; otherwise I shall have great reason to repent of ever having recommended his son; if he pay it not, I must, and so be cheated of 20*l*. I entreat you to use your power and interest that I may not be caught in such a trap; his son's debt is, besides that, 85*l*. sterling here, and utterly disgraced here, and never may look for any employment; whereas otherwise Mr. Meadows and I had designed, as we had set his foot in the stirrup, to set him on horseback. My Lord has not yet accepted the crown, but gives dubious answers, so that we know nothing as yet. I beseech the Lord to bless him; if ever man deserved a crown, I think he does. I am, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 23rd, old style.

SIR,—At Frankfort, the assembly of German deputies began to dissolve as soon as they heard of the emperor's death. The deputy of Bavaria posted away presently. Saxony was next; then Wirtemberg and Casal. The tenth of this month there were but few left.

Whilst I am writing this, I receive a copy of the Bavarian elector's proclamation, wherein he claims the title and authority of vicar in the same part of the empire which the Elector of Heidelberg names in his proclamation, which I sent last week.

The Bavarian proclamation was brought to Ratisbon by the secretary, April 7th, and there received by that senate with much respect; thence he went with other copies for Nuremberg and Frankfort, where he might find the Heidelberg proclamation set up before he came thither.

As these two electors disagree for the vicariat, so do the ecclesiastical electors of Mentz and Cologne strive for the right of crowning the emperor. Mentz and Heidelberg are at daggers-drawing about the toll upon the Rhine; and rather than one would yield to the other, they both lost many thousands of Reichsdalers this last Lent, by hindering the passage of goods to the Frankfort mart. The Elector of Brandenburg is hated by all the popish electors for his league with Sweden. The Elector of Saxony hath an ill name amongst them all; the papists say he promised to turn catholic, and is not yet so good as his word. The other side fears that this report of such a promise is true. I have, this week, read a letter from Dresden, complaining how much the Elector of Saxony is injured by this report, whereas he is a pious prince and zealous for his religion.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, April 23, May 3, 1657,
between 10 and 12 at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 2-12th April, and have but this moment to tell you that the report concerning Sir Oliver Fleming is a mere sham and chimera, yea, I have it from Mr. Secretary's own mouth, (talking by-the-bye, I acquainted him I had been so informed.) Mr. Secretary has commanded me this time to desire you to excuse his not writing of late, because his multiplicity of affairs has been the sole cause, and no other. His highness has not yet given his positive answer, but will do now suddenly; they have had, indeed, many meetings of late. Those letters concerning the Waldenses, I have had already, but God knows I have no room for any business till this great one be ended. I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Paris, May 8th, new style, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Though I have not much of any importance to trouble you with by this, yet I esteem myself bound to let you know that yours of April 16th-26th came to my hands this day. Before my receipt of it, I was persuaded by some of

the Switzers' officers here, that all the differences betwixt the protestant and popish cantons were brought to a friendly conclusion ; it seems they have been misinformed. The business betwixt the Dutch and the French is like to have no better issue. I am confident next post will bring an account of his highness's last resolution concerning the petition and advice of his parliament. The court removed from hence yesterday. His majesty, before he parted, reconciled the dukes of Vendôme and Epernon, after they had been imprisoned in the Bastile for the space of twenty-four hours. I am, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 30th, old style.

SIR,—I hear that the German deputies which remain still at Frankfort abstain from meddling with any business till they have received new instructions. Some hope that the Bavarian elector will be contented to be acknowledged vicar of the empire in his own country and in Austria ; and will permit the Elector of Heidelberg quietly to exercise the authority of vicar in the rest of the portion, which heretofore was under the palatines

of Heidelberg. A letter out of the Saxon court at Dresden assures me that an ambassador is come thither from Vienna; and that the Elector of Saxony is preparing considerable forces that he may be able to preserve his own dominions in safety, and to maintain the right of being vicar in a great part of Germany near to his country. But others say, that if any have a mind not to acknowledge him for a vicar, they have a just pretence; because he hath not yet done homage for his fief, and so hath not been admitted by the emperor as a prince of the empire. The fear of new troubles in Germany among these vicars makes many men wish that they may soon see a new emperor chosen, and so an end of all these vicarages.

A week ago, letters came to Zurich as to the presiding canton, but written to all the thirteen cantons, from the King of Hungary and Bohemia, as also from his uncle the archduke, signifying the emperor's death.

The king and the archduke have been sick of the measles, or children spots, as they call them; but are now so well-recovered that they have named May 16th-26th for the day of their departure from Vienna towards Lintz, and so to Prague; where they may be much nearer the place of election. Some of that court report that the emperor said upon his death-bed, that the imperial crown caused such vast expenses that the house of

Austria were better without it ; and let some other prince try whether he could bear so much trouble, envy, and want of treasure, as accompanies the name of emperor.

The palatine, the archbishop, and other lords of Hungary, are come to Vienna to consult concerning the government till their king be of age. The Polish ambassador desires nothing now at Vienna but four thousand men, which Poland will pay ; and yet it is thought he will not be able to obtain so much ; they gather men as fast as they can, but will find occasions of other employment for them. It is confidently reported there, that Prince Rupert (of Heidelberg) hath laid down his patent, being now to seek what new course to take.

At Zurich and Berne, men talk so much of the German and English crowns, that they seem not to think of renewing their league with France.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 30th April, 10th May, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 9th-19th April. I shall not fail to acquaint Mr. Secretary with your journey to Baden, and to send you whatever money your lady shall order me here through Mr. Tronchin's hands. I

humbly thank you for the French paper you sent me. I delivered long since your letter to my lord president, but it was only as he was passing in the gallery, having at that time no other or better opportunity; he took very courteously and asked kindly after you. I durst not speak to him for an answer yet, because I had not your directions therein (only to observe countenance); if you choose to order me, I shall do it. His highness has not yet given his final answer, but it is believed he will do now very suddenly, and then you shall have the news from, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

His highness lately propounded his difficulties to parliament, who have considered them, and will suddenly bring his highness their reflections thereupon; and then it is thought he will be obliged to give his final answer.

MR. PELL TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART.

Zurich, April 30th, old style.

MY LORD,—The Latin papers which I promised in mine of April 16th-26th were not finished the last week, I have therefore now sent them herewith. They are translations of the ill-agreeing sentences of the arbitrators, concerning the controversies

which produced the late civil war in these countries. Soloturn is always well furnished with such as can translate anything out of the language of this country into French ; so it was easy for the ambassador who resides there to get both sentences translated into French for his own reading ; and, no doubt, he hath sent them so to the court of France, where your lordship's secretary may procure a copy of them. There are no other public ministers in this city than the residents of Great Britain and Venice ; for whose sakes, no man here thinks it worth his while to translate such papers into English or Italian. These sentences thus crossing one another are fitter to set them together by the ears again, than to confirm their peace. Yet here is no appearance of war ; all men's eyes being turned towards Germany. A week ago, letters came hither (as to the presiding canton), but written to all the thirteen cantons from the King of Hungary and Bohemia, as also from the archduke, to make known the emperor's death. An ambassador from Vienna was arrived at the Saxon court at Dresden four weeks ago. That elector is arming himself to maintain his right of being vicar in the parts near to his dominions. The fear of new troubles in Germany among those vicars makes many men wish a new emperor, and so an end of these vicarages. I am, your excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

JOHN PELL

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

May 17-27, 1657.

SIR,—Since my last, the protestant cantons have received a letter from the King of France, and another from the cardinal, in answer to theirs which they wrote not long since in favour of their merchants. They hoped to have this ambassador recalled, and another sent in his place; but these answers give them no cause to continue in that hope.

A letter is also come to Zurich, as to the presiding canton, but written to all the thirteen cantons from the Bavarian elector, to signify his right to be vicar, from the emperor's death, till a new one be chosen.

The 4th-14th of August next is named for the beginning of the diet at Frankfort for the election of an emperor. In the meantime, the palatine electors of Bavaria and Heidelberg continue their claims of the vicariat. A manifesto is in the press at Heidelberg to shew the right of that house. At Augspurg, Memmingen, and other places, they gather all the soldiers that they can get for the Elector of Bavaria. One of the Abbot of Saint Gall's subjects, a colonel, hath undertaken to bring the said elector a regiment of horse.

Aken, though lately burnt, is designed for the place of coronation; not out of a desire to help

the poor citizens, who so lately lost all by so terrible a fire, but because the electors of Mentz and Cologne do both of them claim the right to crown the new emperor; which dispute will be avoided by choosing Aken for the place.

At Heidelberg, the court is much out of order. Prince Rupert returns not thither, but remains irreconcilable. The elder sister (Elizabeth) is going to the court of Brandenburg; it is thought her sister will soon follow her. The electrice hath often threatened to return into Hessen, believing the elector cares not for her, because her physicians and midwives say, that she can never have any more children; she thinks the people wish her dead that the prince might marry another, and beget more sons, and so diminish their fear of being subject to one of the remaining brethren, Rupert or Edward, who are both papists.

From Milan, they write that there they much fear that the Duke of Mantua will fall back to the French, having no such tie upon him now as when the emperor lived. And therefore the Spaniards have sent out some troops into Montferrat to observe the actions of that duke, more than for any other design.

From Vienna, they write that the Polish ambassador gets no satisfactory answer; that the council intends to settle the government in Hungary, without calling a diet, if it be possible; that in

Upper Hungary, they have refused to receive the soldiers which were sent to quarter in some of their towns; that the persecutions against the protestants in Vienna and the whole of Austria is not at all abated by the emperor's death.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 7-17.

SIR,—Yours of April 16th tells me that you are in danger to pay 20*l.* for H. Ulrich, and entreats me to take a course here to save you harmless. I hope my letters of April 23rd and 30th are come to your hands; whereby you will see that I have so ordered the matter, that it will be in your own power to help yourself; and therefore I have not yet spoken of it to his father, who still keeps his chamber. The goldsmith, mentioned in my last week's letter, sent me the expected money three days ago.

Some letters from Basil told us that the Elector of Mentz was killed with a harquebuss as he was mustering his subjects. I believe not that it is true.

We hear that the French clergy hath given but twelve thousand crowns to the Queen Dowager of Great Britain, who expected a far greater sum. But

they say, the Queen of Poland and the famous Queen Christina, late of Sweden, do also call upon them for pecuniary aid.

The last Spanish letters say, that their king has kept his fifty-third birthday ; what they add besides, you will find untranslated in the next leaf. This shall only tell you that I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

Madrid, 11 April.—E gionto aviso spedito in diligenza dal Duca Medina Celi dal salvo arrivo di tutta la flotta delle Nuove Spagne* all' Isole Canarie : onde tutta la corte ne da segni d'allegrezza, 36 vascelli cariche di pretiosis. mercantie.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, May 7-17, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have hardly time to tell you that I have received yours of April 16-26, with the enclosed papers.

His highness has not yet given his final answer. I believe he will suddenly. There was a committee with him this day ; I think he told them so much. The enclosed letter was sent me last week, an hour after my packet was made up and gone to the post-house.

His highness has commanded my Lord Amba-

* This was the fleet soon after destroyed by Blake, in the harbour of Santa Cruz.

sador Lockhart to press the affair of the valleys in the French court, if possible, to obtain some relief for them. What will be the success, the Lord knows. I am forced to break off, and say no more, but that I am, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I have also written to my Lord Lockhart touching the valleys.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—A while ago, it was said, that, May 18-28, there would be a meeting of deputies from all the cantons at Baden for the final pacification of these countries ; but now the day is uncertain. It is thought fit that, before that general assembly, the protestant cantons do first meet alone at Arraw ; but the day is not yet determined. We hear that the protestant part of Glaris hath renewed the league with France, notwithstanding that they had promised us to do nothing in that business without the concurrence of the evangelical cantons.

From Berne, May 9.—Many die here of burning fevers and headache. We are much afraid that the pestilence will come among us shortly. Here, no man speaks of renewing the alliance with France, or of the settling of the peace with the popish cantons. All the discourse is of our prefectures and bailiwicks, which will be vacant in the end of next July.

From Geneva, May 5.—No doubt, our good neighbour, the Duke of Savoy, will now be stirring to employ all his friends and power to get the imperial crown for his sister's husband, the Duke of Bavaria. We believe the counsels of France have the same design. We are extremely sorry to hear that Mr. Morus* is called by the church of Paris to be one of their pastors and ordinary preachers at Charenton.

From Casal, May 9, new style.—The Marquis de Ville is in Montechio, with six thousand men. He cuts down all the green corn round about. The Duke of Mantua calls for the army to chase him thence. There are very great recruits coming out of France hither.

From Mantua, May 8.—Men say here, that the army shall into the field within these two days. But their horses will find the grass very short. All the German officers who were sent hither from the emperor are to take a new oath, to be faithful to the King of Hungary.

From Bergamo, May 5.—At Genoa, the pestilence begins anew, contrary to the hopes which they had, when lately, with great solemnities, they laid the first stones of a new church vowed to the Virgin Mary, in honour of her immaculate conception. A silver image of her, with four protecting saints of that city, were let into the stone that was first laid, with the inscription of the year, day, occasion, &c. Here men talk of a great league between the house of Austria, Denmark, Poland, Holland, Moscovia, and Tartary.

From Rome, May 5.—The King of Spain hath recalled his ambassador from hence, lest the pope should be beforehand with him in dismissing him, because his nuncio, Benelli, is not received in Spain. The cardinal, the landgrave, shall manage the affairs of Spain till another ambassador come.

From Stutgard, May 6-16.—Here came proclamations of vicariat from Heidelberg and Bavaria; but our duke (of Wirtemberg) would not permit either of them to be set up here.

From Worms, May 5-15.—Here and at Frankfort the vicariat of the Elector of Heidelberg is admitted; but Spire

* The opponent of Milton.

refuseth him, having received proclamations of Saxony and Bavaria. The Elector of Mentz levieth some forces at Wirtsberg. At Frankfort, men begin already to seek lodgings, because of the approaching diet.

From Vienna, May 3.—The Polish ambassador hath had audience lately. He was prayed to have patience for two months. He sells his pearls, and offers to pawn his jewels. He will go to the baths, that he may live as privately and sparingly as is possible, till this court be at leisure to give him such an answer as he desires. The protestants here are warned to turn catholics, or to leave the country within eight days.

Out of Bavaria, May 2.—The Bishop of Freising hath received the Heidelberg proclamations, as well as the Bavarian. He saith, he will make himself judge of the controversy. All the towns of this country receive garrisons of new soldiers.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 14-24, 1657.

SIR,—Mr. Ulrich still keeps his chamber. Your short letter of April 23 makes no mention of his son ; but it confirms my opinion concerning the state of Sir O. Fleming's coming hither. The Italian that told it me was suspected for a knave in all the great towns of this country ; but, returning through Heidelberg, he was there stripped and searched. Some say, there were strange matters found about him ; but I have not yet heard any particulars. That Mr. Secretary is overwhelmed with a multiplicity of affairs, I easily believe. I pray you present my humble service.

We long to hear the final resolution concerning the government, as also the particulars of the late conspiracy, when the prisoners have been examined. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

I have here a copy of the French credentials, which Monsieur de Thou delivered at the Hague to the states-general. I was about to cause it to be written out for you ; but I thought it was very likely that you would have it from the Dutch ambassador, and also, perhaps, from Sir William Lockhart.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

May 21-31.

SIR,—Yesterday, three deputies went from Zurich to Arraw ; there to meet the deputies from all the other protestant cantons, save Glaris, which was not invited to that assembly. Nor have they given any notice of it to the French ambassador. If he come thither to them, they have order only to give him audience, and to make report to the senate of Zurich, but not to treat with him, or to say anything to him, differing from the instructions which they had from the assembly last past ; their chiefest business at this time being, not the French league, but their own peace at home : to consider how that

may be maintained, according to the late sentence of the arbitrators ; to draw a solemn promise from them all to execute that sentence, and hereafter not to suffer any popish prefect to oppress the protestants in the common prefectures, but to apprehend him presently, and punish him, if he transgress any of those limits which that sentence prescribeth.

The palatine elector's agent, who resides at Basil, intends to come to them at Arraw, and to present some Rhenish wine, which that prince sent them. Perhaps he hath no other business with them. But at the same time, Colonel Mey (a man not unknown at Whitehall), captain of that prince's guard, intends also to be there, to give notice, that the elector hath sent him to the four evangelical cantons to pray them to let him raise some companies to make up a regiment of guards, because of the extraordinary levies of Bavaria, and other princes near the palatinate. The council of Heidelberg is most solicitous for Veiden, which, they say, is at the wolf's nose ; and if it were taken by the Bavarian, or any other popish prince, it (and all the towns and villages depending thereon, being about eighty-three in all,) would be compelled to go to mass. The Bavarian and Heidelberg proclamations, in some cities, stand quietly by one another ; but in Spire and Worms, they have been both pulled down. Some say, those two electors sent men

thither to pull down one another's papers. Others think it was done without their order by such as desire, by this means, to set those princes together by the ears. The palatine* is also jealous of the French, because lately France hath made treaties with the Electors of Mentz, Trier, and other princes, not including Heidelberg in any of them.

I know not whether the protestant cantons will be forward to send a regiment to Heidelberg; for the present, all listing of soldiers is forbidden. Those of Zug are gathering men for Milan; to spare their own, they take up all the vagabonds that come into their country; and having new clothed them, they deliver them to a captain, for Milan; for the other cantons will not consent that they shall list any in the common prefectures. Glaris is, in like manner, troubled to find their promised number of soldiers for France, because they cannot obtain leave to make up their number elsewhere.

A few days ago, the three deputies of the protestant part of Glaris returned from Soloturn homeward. Two of them went another way, but the third was constrained to pass through Zurich, because of some private affairs. The senate sent their second secretary to his inn to salute him. He en-

* It was not many years after, that the palatinate suffered greatly from the barbarous ravages of Louis XIV.

deavoured, by discourse, to draw out of him a confession how much they had received of the French ambassador; but the deputy was reserved. He only said, that they had renewed the league for their own parts, but with this proviso, that if the other protestant cantons obtained better conditions, Glaris should speed never the worse for their forwardness, but should share with those that made less haste and more ado in bargaining than the protestants of Glaris had done.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 21-31.

SIR,—Yours of April 30 takes notice of my journey to Baden. I begin to lay aside the thoughts of that journey. Some think now there will be no extraordinary meeting at Baden this year. To-day, the evangelical cantons begin an assembly at Arraw, where some will endeavour to persuade the rest, that an extraordinary assembly at Baden will do more harm than good, and that it will be better to stay a little longer at the annual Baden meeting, next Midsummer-day.

Here we have had but little news this week, and most of it improbable. We have heard of a battle between the Swedes and the Poles, wherein the

Poles have lost at least seven for one ; and I have read a High-Dutch narrative of it, printed I know not where. But to me it seems not sufficiently circumstantiated ; and therefore, in my letters to Mr. A. Peters, I have made no mention of it.

Some emissaries of Spain give out that the young King of Portugal says that the title of Duke of Braganza is great enough for him ; and that he will go to Madrid, and resign his crown to King Philip, whom he dares trust with his life and liberty, as having never offended him, nor being bound to answer for his father's actions. But I find not a word to that purpose in the last letters from Madrid, whereof I send you a copy herewith.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

I desire not to put my Lord President to the trouble of an answer. It sufficeth me, that I am sure that he had my letter. The adjoined for Mr. Dury concerns Mr. Ulrich.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, May 21-31, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Had I not been extremely sick all the last week, I had not failed you ; but, I will assure you, I escaped death very narrowly, though I had two or three able physicians about

me. My Lord Protector has absolutely refused the crown ; the parliament has thereupon, with much ado, acquiesced and voted to accommodate all other articles to the title of Protector. Here is no other news stirring that I know of. Mr. Meadows is not yet gone to Denmark. I something question whether he will go at all. I have received no moneys at all as yet to return you. Mr. Ulrich's son has undone himself merely by his folly. I hope his father will save my credit, at least, for the twenty pounds his son defrauded Mr. Meadows of. I have received your two letters, the last whereof was dated April 30, and return you my humble thanks for all the enclosed. I am so pressed that I cannot enlarge. Right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, May 28, old style.

May 24, in all the churches of this canton, a printed edict was read ; wherein they command all their subjects to stay at home, and not to list themselves for foreign service in the wars of any prince whatsoever, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, and death if they be taken ; but if they be not taken, they shall be perpetually banished,

not only themselves, but also their wives and children.

May 25, the two hundred, or common-council, of this city were assembled to hear the account of what had been done by their deputies at Arraw. They told them,

1. That the French ambassador, being not invited, had taken no notice of that assembly; so that they had no message from him whilst they were there.

2. That the deputies of the other evangelical cantons had approved their motion for making a more strict union than formerly for the defence of their religion, not only in the common prefectures, but also among their neighbours, especially of those of the county of Toggenburg, who have been, and are still, intolerably molested by their lord (the Abbot of St. Gall) for what they said or did during the late war among the cantons. Seeing, therefore, that he will not observe the amnesty, they had proposed it as a thing worthy of their consultation, what course is to be taken for the easing of those oppressed men.

3. That Colonel Mey, of Berne, captain of the prince elector's guard at Heidelberg, appeared at Arraw, in the name of that elector, praying them to let him raise a regiment of one thousand soldiers of the protestant cantons' subjects as soon as might be; and to lend him seventy thousand reichs dollars

(about sixteen thousand pounds sterling), offering, for security, to pawn jewels of great value. The deputies answered him, that for raising the soldiers they would not take upon them to give him an answer till they had reported it to their principals; but they knew the public treasuries were not in case to lend money. To which the colonel replied, that he accounted his whole desire obtained if he might have the soldiers; for, as for the money, he believed that among his own acquaintance in this country, he should find private persons, who, upon such good caution as those jewels, would willingly lend the sum desired.

The two hundred, having heard this relation, approved the proceedings of their deputies at Arraw; and, because the sending soldiers to Heidelberg seemed a business of great importance, they referred the preparatory deliberation to the privy-council,—that is, to their two consuls, four pro-consuls, and two treasurers.

From Frankford, May 16.—In the public deliberations, nothing hath been done here these six or seven weeks, because many of the deputies are absent; and those that are yet here have no new instructions concerning the present state of affairs. In the meantime, the levies continue, especially for the vicariat. The Bavarian elector is owned by the Saxon as con-vicar. Their new seal is a spread eagle, upon whose wing are the arms of those two electors, with these words circumscribed:—"Bavarus et Saxo Vicarij vacante Imperio. Ao. 1657." This seal was first sent to the Elector of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire in Germany. He approved it. It was then sent to the

judges of the chamber at Spire, who had broken the late emperor's seal as soon as they heard of his death. Eight days ago, there came a herald thither, in a cassock of blue velvet, with the arms of Bavaria and Saxony before and behind; he pulled down the Heidelberg elector's proclamation, and tore it to pieces. The next day, eight palatine horsemen did as much to the Bavarian proclamation. Some say, the King of France will not only take Bavaria's part in all quarrels, but also endeavour to get the imperial crown for him.*

In the meantime, the elector palatine hath coined money with the title of vicar. He hath printed a declaration, shewing his right to that title; and hath published a second proclamation, dated May 12, warning all men to refuse all mandates, citations, &c., coming from Spires with the Bavarian seal.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 28th, old style.

SIR,—I have received yours of May 7-17th, with two enclosed from Mr. Hartlib. The deputies,

* When the power of the Emperor of Germany ceased, whether by death, by abdication, or by deposition, the Germanic constitution provided, that the vicars of its several departments should take the reins of government into their hands, until the new emperor should be formally elected and crowned. The eldest son of the late emperor, Ferdinand III., whom, as his intended successor, he had caused, in the usual manner, to be elected King of the Romans, having died, his other son, Leopold, King of Hungary and Bohemia, found a competitor in Louis XIV., which occasioned much passionate negotiation, during a period of fifteen months. The end was, the election of Leopold, and an adjustment, known by the name of "The Alliance of the Rhine."

being returned from Arraw, tell us, that they there endeavoured to persuade the deputies of the other cantons that there need not be an extraordinary assembly of all the cantons at Baden this year ; but they found most of those deputies of another mind, saying, that the restoring the peace of this country, and preventing the like controversies hereafter, is a business that concerns them all, and therefore cannot be sufficiently finished and confirmed without a general assembly ; so that I am likely to see Baden again this summer, which will put me to extraordinary expenses. I hope, before that time, my wife will receive some money from Mr. Firbanck, and will deliver it to you to be made over to me by M. Tronchin. In mine of April 23rd, I prayed you to deduct 60*l.* out of it, and to pay it to Mr. Dury for the use of Mr. Henry Ulrich ; but since that time his friends here have received other letters, whereby they perceive he needs a greater sum. I therefore now pray you to deliver to Mr. Dury as much as he shall require for the setting of Henry Ulrich at liberty ; this being done, I hope there will be some money left in your hands to be made over hither by the correspondents of Mr. Tronchin.

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 28th May, 1657, old style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 7-17th instant, with the enclosed, and humbly beg your pardon for my silence, or, at least, confused letters of late. The truth is, I have been lately sick nigh unto death, and on Monday last, I heard of the sudden death of my dear mother, which made me ride post into the country, to come timely to her burial ; but, to my great grief, came too late : just now I am again arrived in London. His highness has accepted the parliament's offer of all the articles accommodated to the title of protector. I believe there will be shortly a proclamation, and new solemnities about it, and so they will proceed to settle all things. This is all the news we have here worth relating, at least, that I know of. I have sent you the enclosed marked A ; I believe there is a news-book in it.

I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

Westminster, 28th May, 1657.

SIR,—I wrote last on the 14th of this month ; in it you had one from me to the old man Tronchin. I begin to despair of the finding of his *Idea Har-*

monicæ, which you sent me the last year in August ; and, it being but an index of what is to be offered to the churches, it is not very material whether it be found or not.

Monday last (the 25th), the parliament presented the settlement again to his highness, with a new preface, and the title of king left out, or rather altered in the title of *supreme magistrate*, which they give unto the Protector, that he may administer the laws of the state to all intents and purposes with as much authority and right as ever any king before him did. We hope upon this agreement (for his highness hath accepted this offer) we shall now begin to look into other matters ; and that my negotiation may come into some consideration, which hitherto could not be taken up.

Mr. Morland has not as yet delivered me any money for Mr. Ulrich's son ; but when he doth deliver it, I shall add some to it, and see to get him out of his straits.

My man, David Withlaw, is gone into France, as a servant to my Lady Ranalagh's* son, who is going to travel with his tutor for some years into France and Italy ; perhaps you may see them also where you are, if the states continue still there for a year or two longer ; where I wish you may be

* Katherine Boyle, sister of Lord Broghill. The name was spelt *Ranalagh* at this time.

always in health, and prosper for the public good, and the private comfort for yourself.

Sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

J. D.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, June 1-10, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—After I had despatched my last week's letters to your honour (though they were but scragged ones) and was gone to bed, being indeed very weary of riding post so many days together, Mr. Secretary sent a messenger to my lodgings with the enclosed, but he had not the wit to wake me, only left the letter upon my bed, and in the morning I found it, which troubled me, forasmuch as I suppose there is in it the news of General Blake's late firing and sinking sixteen great Spanish ships in the road of Santa Cruz, which I had forgotten to insert, being exceeding weary. I thought it good, however, to send it this post, and give order that it be carried from Lyons to Geneva, and from thence to Zurich, by an express, if they can find no other way, not knowing what may be in it of moment. His highness, about a week since or more, desired, by a letter, the parliament to adjourn on the 20th of June until Michaelmas. This is all at present from, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

A NARRATIVE OF THE ACTION AT SANTA CRUZ.

AFTER taking in the supply of victuals that was brought us the latter end of March, we spent two or three days before the town of Cadiz ; and finding the enemy there in no great forwardness to come forth with a fleet as was expected, the General, on the 13th of April, 1657, called the commanders together, and communicated his thoughts to go for Santa Cruz, on the island of Teneriffe, laying before them the reasons that induced him to it, which they all approved of ; and a favourable gale just at the time presented to carry us thither. On the 18th following, in the evening, we discovered land, supposed to be point Negro, but being thick and hazy, could not certainly make it till noon next day, whereby the enemy had longer notice of our being on the coast than we designed he should, before we came to action.

On Monday, the 20th of April, 1657, we were, by break of day, fair in the offing of Santa Cruz ; and as soon as it was light, perceived by a signal from one of our frigates ahead, that the West India fleet were in the bay, whereupon, after a short conference how to order the attempt, and earnest looking to the Lord for his providence, we fell in amongst them, and by eight of the clock were all at an anchor, some under the castle and forts, and others by the ships' sides, as we could birth ourselves to

keep clear one of another, and best annoy the enemy. They had five or six galleons (whereof were the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral, with their standard and flags aloft,) and other considerable ships, making up the number of twenty-six; some of them having goods brought from the Indies still on board them; others had taken in goods and provisions to carry back again. Most of them were furnished with brass ordnance, and (as we have been informed since) had their full companies of seamen and soldiers kept continually on board them from their first coming thither, which was about the beginning of February last; their general himself in all the time lying but one night off the ship. They were moored close along the shore, which lies in the manner of a semicircle, commanded as far as the ships' end by the castle, and surrounded besides with six or seven forts, with almost a continued line of musketeers and great shot as the ground between admitted; and we were forced to come so near to do our work that many of the men we have slain and wounded were shot by the musketeers from the shore. Notwithstanding, it pleased God that in four hours' time their men were beaten out, and all their ships put ashore, except the admiral's and vice-admiral's, who made the most considerable resistance. About two of the clock, the vice-admiral's was set on fire, and the

admiral's, by some happy shot or other accident, suddenly blown up, having (as we perceived just before) many men on board her. By the evening, all the rest were fired, only two that sunk down to rights, and had little but their masts appearing above water. It remained to complete this mercy that our own ships should come off well, wherein the greatest hazard and difficulty lay, for some riding near unto the shore and being sorely maimed did require to be warped off; others, when we came to weigh, drove with the wind, all the while blowing right into the bay; and one of our best frigates struck. The enemy, in the meantime, supplied fresh men into his forts for those we had killed and beaten out in the heat of the action, and from them and the castle continued plying upon us till, about seven of the clock at night, every ship and vessel belonging to our fleet were, by the good hand of God, got safe out of command. In this service we had not above fifty slain outright, and one hundred and twenty wounded; and the damage to our ships was such as in two days' time we indifferently well repaired for present security, which we had no sooner done, but the wind veered S. S. W. (which is rare among those islands), and lasted just to bring us to our former station near Cape Mary, where we arrived the 2nd of May following; for which merciful appearance all along with us, we

desire the Lord may have the praise and glory, and that all that hear of it may turn and say (as of truth we have found), that among the gods there is none like unto him, neither are there any works like unto his works.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 4, 1657.

SIR,—When I wrote to you by the last week's post, May 28, Colonel Mey, who was come to this town the evening before, had not given me notice that he was here. But some hours after my letters were gone, he sent his brother to signify his desire to come to me, who carried back such an answer that he soon came himself. He told me, that the prince elector palatine had sent him hither to desire soldiers of this canton, and consequently of all the other protestant cantons, and of their allies, to the number of two thousand, to lay them in garrison in some places which he accounted most in danger. That his interest obliged him to desire the friendship of all protestants, but he scarce durst seek it openly, because of his situation in the midst of so many papists, who watch for a pretence to fall upon him, knowing him weak and low, and therefore easily trodden down. Towards England, he continues in that mind, “which,” said

he, “ I made known to you this time twelvemonth, at Baden ;” that is, that he sent Monsieur Olivier on pretended business into France, but with order to slip into England with as little noise as might be, and there to give my Lord Protector assurance of the elector’s great desire of amity and confident correspondence with England. But Monsieur Olivier, within a few days after he came to Paris, fell sick of a burning fever and died there. The elector, having no man else about him whom he could trust in such a business, “ told me,” said the colonel, “ that he would send me thither, but that I was too well known, and it would make too great a noise among his ill neighbours.” He therefore wished that the Protector would send over some gentleman to Heidelberg, under pretence of seeing the new-planted palatinate, and the revived university, and who might tarry awhile there, as pleased with the abilities of Dr. Hottinger, or some other of his professors, or his skilful riding-master. “ If such a one,” said the prince, “ were here, I would soon find out means to speak with him privately, and give him assurances of my propension to close with England in as near correspondency as I am capable of.” “ The prince elector,” said the colonel, “ is now more free from domestic intrigues than he was when I spoke with you the last year. His brother Rupert is gone to Vienna, and there he abides ; his sister Elizabeth is gone to Berlin, in

Brandenburg, to her aunt the old electrice, both which professed irreconcilable hatred against England. The prince cannot hinder his mother, brother, and eldest sister, to continue their animosities for kindred's sake;* but he himself prefers the interest of his people and their religion before kindred or any other consideration in the world."

The colonel prayed me to make known this desire of his master the prince elector, that so the Protector might receive truer impressions of his affection to the present government of England; of which he had given some proof in that he kept no manner of correspondence with his royal cousin Charles.

The next morning, the colonel went hence towards Berne to treat with them also for levies; the council here having answered him, that in that business they could do nothing without the concurrence of the other evangelical cantons.

The other Heidelberg agent, who resides at Basil, did nothing at Arraw but present fifteen vessels of Rhenish wines to the deputies there assembled; three for themselves, and three a-piece for the protestant cities. Those of Zurich had rather drink

* The mother of the elector was Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. The marriage of that princess to the elector palatine was singularly unfortunate to herself, but attended by consequences of great moment to this country as supplying subsequently, in the house of Brunswick, the nearest protestant line of succession to the throne of Great Britain.

their own verjuice than the best wine in the elector's cellar, and therefore they would not have been at the cost to bring it from Arraw to Zurich, but would have given it to the deputies of Basil, if they had not feared that it would much displease the prince elector, who had taken the pains to order the whole business, and to appoint which vessels should be sent to each place.

I hear that the citizens of Soloturn, where the French ambassador resides, are very much discontented to hear that he gave money to the protestants of Glaris, whereas they cannot get a penny of him.

From Vienna, May 19.—The house of Austria will accept the Poles' offer of their crown, not considering that thereby they will inevitably pull upon their heads the enmity of Moscow, Sweden, and Transylvania. The Austrian forces upon the frontiers of Silesia expect order to fall into Poland. The deputies of Hungary are departed; nothing was concluded, but that a fortnight hence they would meet again to consider what was to be done against Ragotzi, who had written to the Palatine (the viceroy) of Hungary a very smart letter, with threats what he would do to Hungary if the Austrians disturbed his proceedings in Poland. Here about Vienna the levies continue; they find horsemen, but no foot; they are sending a deputy into Denmark to persuade the king to break with Sweden.

From Frankfort, May 19.—The judges of the chamber at Spire have already given out nine or ten sentences in the name of Bavaria and Saxony, and sealed with his new vicar seal, whereupon the Heidelberg elector goes about to lay a garrison in the city of Spire. The French forces fill us with jealousies by their drawing near to the rivers Moselle and Rhine.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 4, 1657.

SIR,—It is to-day just a year since I returned hither from Baden, where, twenty days hence, the ordinary yearly assembly for accounts will meet, and then they will consider whether it be necessary to have an extraordinary assembly there this year.

In mine of May 14th, I told you of an Italian that had been with me, and was searched afterwards at Heidelberg. Letters from thence tell me, that he pretended to be sent thither from the King of Sweden's brother, but being discovered to be a liar, the prince elector caused all his papers to be taken from him, and sent the knave to Frankford, to M. Snolsky, the Swedish deputy. What he hath done with him I have not yet heard.

The last week's post brought me no letters from Whitehall, but I received one from Mr. Dury, dated 14th May; whereby I perceived that mine of April 23rd was come to hand; for he tells me that, in my wife's presence, you had promised to deliver 60*l.* to him. I hope you have now received my last week's letter, wherein I prayed you to deliver to him as much as he shall require for the setting Henry Ulrich at liberty. You want leisure, and have little need of this accession of trouble,
from Sir, your humble servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, June 4-14, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 14-24th May. Mr. Ulrich is still in custody. As soon as I receive any money from your lady for you, I shall do my utmost endeavour to have him set free. My dangerous sickness of late, which brought me very near death's door, and the unexpected death of my mother, has caused me to be remiss in my writing to you of late; but, hereafter, I shall be more punctual. To-morrow, (as I take it) a committee of the parliament is to wait on his highness about the settling of the affair of moneys, and, indeed, all the articles of the whole advice, lately presented by them to his highness (only the title of protector instead of king.) This is hastened much the more, because his highness signified his intentions of adjourning them the 20th of this month, till the beginning of Michaelmas term, which they are much joyful at. This is all the news that is stirring, only, between you and me, there has been the most dangerous pamphlet lately thrown about the streets that ever has been printed in these times.* I have sent you the preface, which

* This pamphlet was the celebrated libel intitled, *Killing no Murder*, designed to persuade the soldiers to kill the Protector. Its authorship was afterwards claimed by Colonel Silas Titus; it was also attributed to Sexby, who died in the Tower at the beginning of 1658.

is more light, but, believe me, the body of it is more solid ; I mean, as to shewing the author's learning, though the greatest rancour, malice, and wickedness, that ever man could shew, nay, I think, the devil himself could not have shewn more. So I am forced to break off, and only assure you that, I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I entreat you to let no living soul know that I sent you the enclosed.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 11-21.

SIR,—The last week, the Venetian resident signified to the senate of Zurich the victory obtained over some great ships of Barbary. Here was a report of a second fight, wherein the Venetian general was slain ; but this week's Venetian letters take no notice of any such news, so that we believe it is false.

French letters say, that those of the reformed religion in Languedoc oppose themselves to the king's declaration, obtained by the now dissolved assembly of the clergy ; that the synod of Montpe-

lier hath excommunicated the counsellors which consented to the verification of that declaration ; that Montauban will not suffer Monsieur de l'Abadie, their pastor, to go out of their town, though they were commanded by the king to put him away, because he had been a Jesuit ; that the reformed churches of France desire to meet in a national synod ; that the Spaniards have gotten a copy of the treaty between France and Portugal.

From Rome, June 2nd, new style.—It was believed that we were quite rid of the pestilence, but now we see it breaks out again. New orders are taken against it. All bishops, as well cardinals as others, are commanded to retire to their own cathedrals. Perhaps this news of the pestilence returning, will divert Queen Christina, who is ready to come hither, having caused her lodgings to be provided in the palace of Farnese, but hanged and furnished by the Jews, because the keeper of Parma's wardrobe refused to do it, saying, they had misused and spoiled those which he lent her the last year. The pope is very pensive ever since he heard of the emperor's death ; he hath commanded the Portugal ambassador to leave Rome.

From Venice, June 9th, new style.—Here are a hundred gentlemen chosen to reside in the borders, to look well that no passengers or merchandise enter this signory from infected places. For the pest increaseth in Genoa, and spreads towards Milan.

From Vienna, May 26th, old style.—Many die here, as it were suddenly. The court is busy in diminishing the number of counsellors and courtiers. The King of Hungary hath been called into Spain the third time. Some troops are coming hither out of Carinthia. They are to go into Silesia, and from thence in all likelihood into Polonia ; for the articles of the

Polish treaty are agreed on and subscribed here. General Hatsfeld is to fall into the territory of Cracow with 18,000 men, and Count Montecuculi* shall go against Transylvania with some thousands of Germans and Hungarians.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, June 11-21, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours with the enclosed, and return you humble thanks. We have no news at all stirring. The parliament have lately presented some bills about money to his highness, who has signed them, and the 20th of June they adjourn till Michaelmas. I suppose you have heard what has befallen Mr. J. Tronchin. I am verily persuaded it is pure malice and jealousy that has brought it upon him. If you know nothing to the contrary, I entreat you to lend him your helping hand to some eminent person of Berne to allay their wrath against him; and to let him, at least, have a fair trial to clear his innocence, if he be so, as I trust he is. I have sent you enclosed a copy of his letter to me, and remain, in much haste, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

* The general who afterwards distinguished himself against Turenne.

Your lady can procure, as yet, no money to return you ; and now, if I had it, I know not whether I durst to return it by Mr. Tronchin or no till he has cleared himself.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 11-21, 1657.

SIR,—Yours of May 21-31 gives notice of your dangerous sickness and speedy recovery ; at least, so far as that you were able to write to me. Your body is not able to bear so much labour and watching as your active mind would impose upon it. When I was about the same age that you are now, I gave an old man occasion to say to me, “ You would fain be at your inn ; but if you have no care for the beast you ride on, you may lodge under the blue sky, and be laughed at for an ill-horseman.”

Now men begin to lay aside the thoughts of a coronation, more necessary councils may ripen faster, of which I hope your letters will not suffer me to be wholly ignorant.

It hath been told, for a great secret, that the Genevois have determined to send two syndics, Monsieur Pictet and Monsieur de Dane, to Berne and Zurich. The cause of this journey is not yet known. I guess that it is occasioned by the

rumour that the Duke of Longueville will shortly be at Neufchastel, whose inhabitants may, perhaps, desire to obtain some favours from him (their prince) by the intercession of these three considerable neighbour-cities of the same religion.

One hath taken the pains to shew that this present pope's grandfather's grandfather was brother to the present Great Turk's grandfather's grandmother. If you desire the pedigree I will send it.

By mine of May 28th and June 4, you will see that Mr. Ulrich is not abandoned by his friends here. I wish that you may receive some money for me shortly, that he may be set at liberty as soon as may be. If, in the meantime, he want money for his necessary expenses where he is, I hope, between Mr. Dury and yourself, so much may be advanced upon the credit of

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 18-28.

SIR,—The last post brought me a letter from Mr. Secretary, dated May 28, and in it a narrative of the action at Santa Cruz, under the conduct of General Blake. They are here generally glad to hear it, and wish frequent occasions of reporting no worse news.

They were also glad to hear that his highness and the parliament agree so well, without returning to the name of king, and so relapsing into the inconveniences from which we seemed to have been freed. Men now long to know the articles of this parliament's advice concerning the government.

They have heard of six thousand English soldiers in France ; * but when I am asked who pays them, and upon what conditions they are to assist or to serve that king, I am not able to give a satisfactory answer, having never heard anything to that purpose.

Yesterday, two of the magistrates of Geneva came hither. After dinner, they went to the consul's house and delivered their credentials, desiring audience privately. Wherefore, the consul sent to all the senators of the privy council to come to his house, where they were heard. What they said hath not yet been related to me. At my lodgings they made no long stay, not offering to speak to me of business, but only salutations and compliments. But, from one that discoursed with them before they had seen the consul, I learned that they had passed through Soloturn, and there saluted the French ambassador, telling, that they were going to Zurich to liquidate the accounts concerning the

* These were the auxiliaries sent to the aid of Louis XIV. against the Spaniards in Flanders.

soldiers which they had sent to help Zurich in the late war. But they did not tell him they had received very particular informations from Paris ; that he (the ambassador) had done all that he could against the protestant cantons to make them odious in the French court ; that the king and most of the grandees of France seemed to believe that the said cantons had a design to make a straight alliance with the house of Austria ; that the king had written to the said ambassador, that if they did not presently make an end of this business of the league, he should speak no more of it to them. The cantons should find that all their interests in France were lost ; and for their sakes, all the Huguenots in France and Piedmont should speed the worse.

These, and other such informations, made the senate of Geneva think it necessary to send some deputies to their allies of Zurich and Berne to tell them these particulars, and to advise.

It seems that, after their audience, the privy council of Zurich resolved to make use of the English ambassador. For they sent a secretary of state, both yesterday in the evening, and again this morning, to me, praying me to write this week to my Lord Ambassador Lockhart ; and to signify that this senate desired to know whether his lordship had any command in England to do good offices for the protestant cantons in the court of France ;

whether his excellency had any inclination to intermeddle in that business of the league ; and to represent to the king and cardinal the true impediments of this affair.

MR. PELL TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART.

Zurich, June 18-28, 1657.

MY LORD,—I have been prayed to write to your excellency in the behalf of the protestant cantons, who seem resolved shortly to send me some written declaration of their resolutions concerning the league of France. For they take it for granted that his highness continues willing that his public ministers should be ready to do good offices for them ; and they desire that the king and his counsellors may be fully informed concerning the true cause of their slowness to conclude the alliance in that manner as it hath been proposed by his ambassador, with whom they are so unwilling to treat ; that although they were resolved to make an end of that treaty this summer, yet they would endeavour to do it without him ; and (if they could be assured that your excellency had no particular command from Whitehall not to intermeddle with the league) some of them would endeavour to persuade the rest to pass by the French ambassador, and to put that business into your lordship's hands. For, if they send a deputy of their own to

the court of France, they fear it would be a journey in vain, he returning with no answer, or one as good as none.

Deputies from all the cantons are to meet at Baden three days hence ; no doubt the French ambassador will be there also. We shall shortly see what resolutions will be taken there. In expectation of them, I should have deferred my writing to your lordship, but a secretary of state yesterday, and again this morning, sent from the senate, importuned me to write this week. I am, your excellency's most humble and faithful servant.

JOHN PELL.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 18-28.

SIR,—Yours of May 28th and June 1st-11th are both come safe to my hands.

The death of your mother is a sufficient argument for a long letter of consolation ; but my memory is unready to heap up all the reasons that I have heard or read fit to persuade men to moderation of sorrow. My mother died above forty years ago, and my father fourteen months after her. You will easily believe that the reasons which were then used to pacify me are not now fit for you, if I did remember them. Yesterday, Monsieur Pictet was

with me ; he was in mourning for his mother, who died about a month ago ; all women must not expect to live to see their sons as old as he is, nor need they fear they shall all leave their sons so young as I was. Your case falls near the middle of this great difference, and there let it rest.

To return to Monsieur Pictet. He was accompanied with Du Pan, who was chosen prætor while we were together at Geneva. Their discourse was only salutations, compliment, &c. They did not tell me what business brought them hither, but I shall come to know it without them ; and then I shall not conceal it from Mr. A. P.

In his letters of May 28th, he enclosed a narrative of the action of Santa Cruz, sent from General Blake after his return to the Spanish shore, May 2nd-12th. The Spanish court had not heard where he had been, or that he was returned, when the enclosed was written at Madrid, May 13th-23rd. But I hope, two days hence, to receive one of May 20th-30th, which will, perhaps, speak otherwise. In the meantime, I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

The prince elector hath sent from Heidelberg eighty soldiers, under the command of your Gaspar Ulrich, to lie in garrison in Frankendal, to see the fortifications repaired, ditches scoured, palisades renewed, &c.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

June 24th, 1657.

SIR,—I owe you an answer to yours of the 29th of May and of the 4th of June.

The chief matter of both is concerning H. Ulrich and David Whitelaw. Of this latter, I have told you, in my former of the 28th of May, that he was gone into France with a nobleman's son, in the quality of a servant ; and of the former, I can say no more, but that, as soon as Mr. Morland receives money for you, I shall set him at liberty ; for I am not able to do it sooner. I am three quarters of a year in arrear, which are to be paid shortly ; the want of that money hath put me in debt here ; other incumbrances also in my absence have been brought upon my private affairs, so that I am not able to disburse that which will satisfy his creditors ; if I can, I will see him to-day, and encourage him to be patient, till God so order it that money be received from the state. In the meantime, we must all wait and be suspended in our affairs.

We expect that, to-morrow, the parliament will be adjourned till October 21st.

I have endeavoured to bring in my business to be considered by them, and approved of and recommended to his highness. Whether their pressing affairs for money matters will suffer them to take it into consideration, I know not ; but I have the

chief of the leading men engaged to watch an opportunity to offer it, and all promise to further it ; and if it receive countenance from the parliament, I may begin to act again, for hitherto I have been out of action in a manner.

Mr. Dinslaw doth not yet find the *Idea Harmoniæ Confessionum* which was sent to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

J. D.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 25th, old style.

SIR,—The last post constrained me to break off my relation of the discourse which I had here with the secretary who was sent from the senate. I answered him, that the English ambassador was not yet sufficiently informed concerning their present state of their treaty with France, so that he could not venture to speak of it to the king or the cardinal, for fear of mistaking the canton's intentions, and so doing them more harm than good. He replied, that the senate would send something in writing which should supply that defect ; but they desired me to write to my lord ambassador presently, which I have done, telling him, that if these cantons should resolve to make an end of the treaty this summer, yet they would endeavour to do it

without the French ambassador. And (if they could be assured that his excellency had not received a particular command from Whitehall, not to intermeddle with their league) some of them would endeavour to persuade the rest to pass by the French ambassador, and to put that business in an English ambassador's hands. For they despair of doing it by a deputy of their own sent to the court of France, where he should, perhaps, not be admitted ; so that he must return with no answer, or with such an answer as they esteem equal to none at all ; namely, that the ambassador at Soloturn perfectly knew his majesty's mind concerning the affairs of Swisse, they should treat with him ; for so they were once served in the days of Cardinal Richelieu, which sticks in their stomachs to this day,

Three days ago, I sent to Baden printed copies of the narrative of the action of Santa Cruz, translated into High Dutch. There is now a general meeting of deputies from all the cantons concerning the yearly accounts. But when that audit is over, they intend to tarry there longer than is usual, that they may consult concerning the arbitrators' sentences, &c. ; and, perhaps, also of the French league.

I hope they will not pray me to go to Baden to be present at these extraordinary consultations. If they do, I do not yet know where to borrow so

much ready money as that journey will cost me. Mr. Frost hath, I think, three warrants in his hand for money for

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 25, old style, 1657.

SIR,—My last made mention of Monsieur Pictet. Amongst other things, I told him, that I had heard that Monsieur Celladon was at Berne. “Yes,” said he, “for Jacques Tronchin’s business; of which you have, perhaps, heard.” I answered, that I had heard nothing. “Oh!” said he, “*negotium molestissimum!*” He said no more of it. But, two days after, I received a letter from old Mr. Theo. Tronchin, wherein he prays me to be helpful to his kinsman to the utmost of my power. Out of that letter I gather, that Jacques Tronchin hath paid some false batzes (Berne coin) to somebody. Berne hath cited him, both at Geneva and at Lyons, to answer it, esteeming him the coiner, till he makes known where he received them. Monsieur Jacques complains that they have given him too short a day in their citations, and troubles all his friends to intercede for him at Berne, that they give him longer time to seek his witnesses.

I have seen a leaf of an English book dedicated

to his highness by one that calls himself William Allen. I guess it printed in Flanders, perhaps at Douay. No doubt malice and sophistry are the principal ingredients of the book itself. But in what manner such cursed ware are presented to the public view, I cannot guess, having seen no more but that first leaf.

I commend the enclosed to your care. In one of them I have written that I want money. Perhaps it may give occasion that you may shortly receive some money for

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, June 25-July 5, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of May 28, old style, with the enclosed papers and letters to Mr. A. Peters. Your lady has not yet received your moneys for you, although both she and I have not failed or ceased to solicit for the same; neither do I believe it has been yet in Mr. Secretary's power to procure it, so full of extraordinary business has all the world been for these many weeks. So soon as ever I receive it from your lady, I shall pay Mr. Dury so much as he thinks necessary. The parliament have prolonged their sittings for two or three days more, else they were to adjourn this very day. They are hastening what

they can to settle the business of moneys. I suppose you hear, long ere this, that the peace is absolutely concluded between the French and Dutch ; that is to say, they are to conform both the one party and the other, as concerning their sea affairs, to the treaty made concerning the Hans Towns, in the year 1655 (as I take it), and longer, if they make not some other agreement. We are all very quiet here ; I do not hear of the least disturbance or alteration of affairs in the least. The report goes here, that the Spaniard has gotten some advantages of the Portuguese. The French are down before a town ;* what the event will be, time will shew. They say, the prince and D. John are very near the French army ; we expect shortly to hear of some engagement. If I come to hear anything else of moment, you may be assured to hear it upon all occasions from, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 2-12, 1657.

SIR,—The last letters from Baden say, that the deputies of the cantons could not yet come to make a general session, because Tsweyer (chief magis-

* Montmedy.

trate of Uri) was one of the four deputies sent from that canton to Baden. His other three colleagues say, they dare not sit without him. The deputies of the other four popish cantons protest they will not sit with him, as being a person whom their principals have accused of infidelity and treachery in the late civil war. Some protestants say, that this is a feigned disagreement between the popish cantons that they may gain time, and frustrate this assembly as long as they can ; fearing that, when they come to consider the sentences of the arbitrators, Zurich will speak as high in defence of the sentence of Basil as Switz can speak on the other side. In the meantime, those little cantons grumble, and swear they will make Zurich refund the charges of the last war.

The French ambassador is at Baden. But when he demanded audience, the deputies prayed him to have patience till they could agree among themselves to sit together. He invited them to a feast ; to which they all came, save the deputies of Switz, who would not come because they knew that Tsweyer would be there. They can do little business thus separated. They have divided themselves into committees to hear the accounts of their several prefects apart. But committees will hardly be thought sufficient to hear and determine the controversies which are brought thither by those who have appealed to a general assembly.

The palatine elector hath recalled Colonel Mey out of these countries. He is gone to Baden, that there he may receive his despatches from the protestant cantons together. In the meantime, Monsieur Pelier is sent from Heidelberg down the Rhine; none of the courtiers know whither. But the elector's agent who resides at Basil writes, that he believes he is gone into England. "*Quod,*" said he, "*dictum in aurem.*" For he knows that his master, the elector, would not have such a thing spoken of.

It is said, that Colonel Mey hath obtained a promise at Berne, that the prince elector shall have a regiment out of their canton.

The deputies at Baden have received from the French ambassador a copy of the decree of June 10-20, at the Hague, wherein the states-general promise to restore the two French ships. I make no question but that a copy of it was soon presented at Whitehall; so that I need not send one from hence. But I have sent Mr. Morland a copy of the deliberation of the synod held at Montpelier, in May last, which may produce much trouble in France, if great heed be not taken by those that have power to prevent it.

The last week's post brought no English letters to

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, July 2-12, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of June 11-21, and return you most hearty thanks for your good counsel. I am sure I am ill at present for not observing your good rules, by some late night watches and unseasonable hours.

Now the parliament is over, I hope to get your moneys. I was to-day to meet with Mr. Dury, about the releasing of Mr. Ulrich upon Mr. Dury's and my own private account, according to your desire, but found him not at the house; and, indeed, finding him afterwards, he told me, that it would be necessary to examine Mr. Ulrich first concerning a bond he has lately squandered away of Sir Oliver Fleming's, for one hundred and seven pounds sterling. He is a sad soul, and a very simple youth as ever I heard of. However, upon your account, I shall do my part for his relief speedily. By the enclosed you will have an account of our yesterday's solemnities through the city, the proclamation being made by the mayor and aldermen (that is, by their officers), and they themselves being present, as likewise many of the lords of the council, and other persons of quality, who assisted in the solemnity. The last week was the inauguration in Westminster; whereof the speaker presented my Lord Protector with an imperial sceptre, a rich robe,

such as the kings formerly wore, and, lastly, a sword, and all under the title of the Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England.

I wrote to your honour, not long since, in favour of Mr. Tronchin, of Geneva. I trust you have recommended his cause to the Bernenses. I believe in my soul it is a pure effect of M. Turchin's and some others' malice. I am something ill, and must leave off, notwithstanding Mr. Secretary commanded me to write to you, as you may see by the enclosed note. If Mr. Tronchin should be disgraced, it would hinder one from conveying any more moneys beyond the seas, and gratify the devilish malice of his and our enemies.

So I humbly beg your pardon, and remain, in all sincerity, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

We have no other news stirring here ; but you will hear sooner.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 9-19.

SIR,—For the cause mentioned in my last week's letter, they could not agree to make a session at Baden. But they appointed to meet there again

in the beginning of August, and there to consider the ill-agreeing sentences of the arbitrators. The popish hope, by that time, to see the house of Austria repossessed of the imperial crown, and then they will speak big, and stand stiff upon their high demands of the charges of the late war.

Mr. Stockar (who is now no longer secretary, but newly chosen treasurer of his canton) was at Baden. He came thence eight days ago, and stayed two days in this town. He told me, that his canton was the most backward to renew the league with France; that all the other deputies had dined with the ambassador; but the deputies of Schaffhausen, being invited, went not to him.

The deputies of Zurich did not return till the 4th of July. They have since had two assemblies here in the two hundred, wherein it was expected they should have given an account of what had been done at Baden. But there was nothing spoken of it; those two days being taken up with other business; as, choosing of new prefects, and supplying their places in the council. It is said that, six days hence, the two hundred are to meet expressly for the business of Baden, and of the league of France. In the meantime, it is reported that the deputies did conclude the league with the French ambassador at Baden. He told them, that he would strive

with them concerning Alsatia ; the king was content that they should except it, so that there remained only the question concerning the choice of officers. Some say, that the other cantons referred that to his excellency ; only Zurich deputies said, that they had not power to do so ; but they would propose it to their principals, and hoped they might be brought to the same opinion. Others believe that Zurich will not easily be brought to let the French ambassador choose their officers. Perhaps some temperament will be found out ; as, that they shall name a set number, out of which he shall choose whom he likes best. But of this we can have no assurance till a week or two be past.

The Duke of Longueville is newly come to Neufchastel, (or Newenburg, as the Swisses call it,) where he was solemnly received by his citizens ; for they will hardly be endured to be called subjects. The senate of Berne hath sent some of their own members to welcome him, and invite him to come to their town. The reason of his coming is unknown. Some thought it was to see his eldest son installed there ; but then they think he would have come with a far greater train. Others say, that his coming hath hastened the conclusion of the league, the ambassador fearing that the protestant cantons would treat with the

duke, and by him make their resolutions known to the king.

The Bavarian elector hath, at Weiden, begun a war upon the Elector of Heidelberg, who is scarce ready to oppose him.

The Austrians are marched into Poland. They would also fall into Transylvania, but many Hungarians are against it, especially one Swerin, an Hungarian earl, and therefore many of his villages have been lately burnt by the king's forces.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, July 9-19, 1657,
Thursday, 8 at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 18th-28th June with the enclosed, which I have faithfully delivered about a quarter of an hour since. I have received a 100*l.* of your lady, and shall, God willing, to-morrow morning, deliver it to Mr. Dury according to your honour's order, and not only so, but send enclosed by the next the receipt of Mr. Ulrich's creditor for what money Mr. Dury demands. I had released him upon my own account, but that Mr. Dury desired time to inform himself of some other particulars concerning

the said Ulrich. I hope to be able to give you more light into all things the next week.

By my last, I gave you a broken account of his highness's inauguration. It was about a fortnight since that his highness was sworn by the parliament in Westminster Hall; their speaker putting upon him a royal robe, and presenting him with a bible, a sceptre, and a sword; and, three or four days after, the inauguration was proclaimed and published in London by the lord mayor and aldermen, and a great number of gentlemen being there present, as there was likewise before at Westminster Hall, where were also the judges all in their robes. In sum, the ceremony was performed with a very great deal of solemnity, and I hope will prove much to the satisfaction of that which was the discontented party. At present all is quiet; we have no news stirring. Here is an agent lately arrived from the palatinate about the business of vicarii for the empire.

The other day, among my papers, I found the enclosed of Mercator *de Emendatione annua*. I should be glad to have your opinion concerning it; I know not whether you have seen it, and therefore take the boldness to send it your honour. General Montagu went, as I take it, last Tuesday morning to sea, from Whitehall. I suppose he may stay out three or four months. He

commanded me to present you with his humble and hearty service.

I rest in haste, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant.

S. MORLAND.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

July 9th, 1657.

SIR,—I believe you know the cause why H. Ulrich is not yet relieved, but as soon as moneys are gotten out of the treasury, it shall be done without delay; but when he is out, he cannot remain here in hope of preferment, he must needs be disposed of another way; for no man will be able to recommend him to any place who knows him. He is of a disposition which is not fast, but sleepy, and in a manner senseless; and his miscarriage being known, will make all men afraid of him. I know no better way for him than to be in some army as a surgeon, which is his trade; or if he has neglected to entertain thoughts of that trade, he may trail a pike till adversity awakens him from his drowsiness, and put life into him, and activity, if he be any ways capable of it.

General Montagu is gone to sea with a squadron of ships; whither is unknown.

I dined with him at my lord president's two days

before he went, and at table he made kind mention of you.

Here you have the copy of that which the parliament has done in my business, which will open a door for action unto me as I suppose,* who am,

Your most humble servant in Christ,

J. DURY.

MR. PELL TO MR MORLAND.

July 9-19, 1657.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 11th-21st June, wherein was enclosed Jacques Tronchin's letter to you concerning his Berne business, of which I have heard but little from other hands. One of the letters which the Berne post brought hither yesterday, hath this passage :—

“*De Berne ce 6 de Juillet, 1657.*—Monsieur le

* Dury, of whom mention has been made before, was the friend and correspondent of Boyle. Dr. Birch mentions him as having “spent many years in his travels, engaged in his scheme for reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists.”—*Life of Boyle*, pp. 77, 299. The proceeding in parliament referred to above is recorded in *Burton's Diary*. “Ordered, that it be recommended to his highness the Lord Protector, as the desire of the parliament, that his highness will be pleased to encourage Christian endeavours for assisting the protestant churches abroad ; and that the Lord Deputy, Lord Lambert, Mr. Secretary, Major-General Disbrowe, and Colonel Jones, be desired to present this vote to his highness the Lord Protector.”—ii. 313.

baillif de Lausanne est encor affairé avec les affaires du Signor Tronchin, qui s'est retiré en France pour estre l'auteur convaincu des fausses bates fabriqués dans Orange, &c."

If he cannot prove the witnesses to be false, he stands *convicted*, as this Bernois speaks. I know not what yet can be done for him, till I hear what cause is taken to sift their testimonies. I shall be very willing to do anything for him that lies in my power ; because it seems probable to me that he is innocent.

I think there will be no great necessity to return money by him a good while, if, according to my former letters, you free Mr. H. Ulrich, and send me an account hither, that I may receive it again of his friends. If there remains any overplus in your hands, be pleased to keep it till further order from,

Sir, your faithful servant.

What you will find in the next leaf was transcribed out of a sheet printed at Milan, that you may see in what manner men speak there of the affairs of England.

Milano, Luglio 4, 1657.—Datasi, come si scrive da Londra sotto li 7 del passato, la negativa dal Protettore Cromvel al Parlamento sopra il ricevere il Titolo di Rè con la Corona, s'era imposto nuovamente silentio sopra l'affare; non ostante, che alcuni de Parlamentarii insistessero tuttavia, che si dovesse essequire quello che già era stato deliberato, coll obligare lo stesso Cromvel à lasciarsi Coronare, senza permettere che la

volontà de' Capi dell Armata sopra vanzasse all autorità del assemblea composta de membri de' trè Regni, mà essendo ciò contrario alle leggi fondamentali di essi, che dispongono, che quando non si voglia conoscere per Sovrano il Rè legitimo, non si possa farlo d'altro Personaggio, rimaneva il tutto sopito.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 16th, 1657.

SIR,—Yesterday was appointed for the assembly of the common council of Zurich concerning the French league ; but they did not meet, because this senate had two days before received two letters from Berne, wherein that signified their hopes of obtaining better conditions by the Duke of Longueville, than ever had been offered them by the French ambassador ; the duke came to Neufchastel July 1. The next day, the deputies of Berne came to him thither ; he told them, that the only cause of his coming was, a desire to see his good subjects of that city once more before he died, he being now in his climacterical year. I perceive, by private letters from Berne, that most of that town look upon this duke as an excellent opportunity for the four evangelical cantons to make known to the French court their just complaints against the ambassador, whom this duke doth not love. Howsoever, whether he do them any good or no, his coming hath hanged plummets upon their resolutions, and retarded the

treaty, which seemed to be come to a conclusion. I do not perceive that any of the other three are so forward in that business as to do anything in it without Berne.

The prince elector of Heidelberg hath drawn all his soldiers out of Weiden, upon the Bavarian elector's promise that no others shall be put into it from any other side ; but that it shall stand free and void from all garrison. The truth is, that prince is too poor to maintain a war. He recalled Colonel Mey, having obtained nothing among these cantons or their allies ; save only a grant from the senate of Geneva, that he shall raise one company in their city. Nor had he found any private persons that would lend him money upon the jewels which he brought into these countries, with power to mortgage them. The said colonel went from Basil towards Heidelberg just ten days ago.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

From Chur, in Rhætia, July 7-17.—In the last general assembly of the Grisons, the Count Casati (the Spanish ambassador), by his secretary, again proposed, that captains which serve the French in the state of Milan be recalled ; and if they will not obey, their goods and lands be confiscated, whereupon such a decree was made. It will be a fair occasion for a new combustion and revolution in these countries, if they proceed to execution of this sentence ; the Count will find it unsafe for him to reside in Rhætia.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

July 16, 1657.

SIR,—With yours of June 25 I received the *Idea*, for which I thank you. At last, Mr. Ulrich is freed, as by the particular quittances and the account given to Mr. Morland, no doubt, you will perceive. The prince elector palatine hath an agent here, the son of Monsieur Pelier, of Lausanne; with him Monsieur Ulrich, as he told me, will lie; which comes well, for we know not else what could be done with him, for the reasons of his miscarriage, and his natural temperament, which is dull, as I formerly wrote unto you.

By the adjoined copy, which may be shewed to Mr. Stackins, you will see what he says of Gesner, and what Sir Oliver has endeavoured to do for him.

The Dane, traversing the common interest of the protestant cause, will put my business, as to any negotiation with the Germans, to a stand, till he be taken off. How far the Hollanders have set him on, together with the house of Austria, and we will do to take him off, time will shew. In the meantime, my negotiations at home will be to prepare our own men to concur jointly, when time shall be. Here is like to be some alterations in the members of the council.

I rest, your most humble servant in Christ,

J. DURY.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, July 17-27, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of June 23, with the enclosed. Your one hundred pounds I faithfully delivered to Mr. Dury, and immediately Mr. Ulrich was delivered out of prison. After the discharge of all, there remains 7*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, which Mr. Dury has returned back to me, which I receive as part of what I must give Mr. Meadows for his twenty pounds. I hope Mr. Meadows will be content with fifteen pounds, or less. The enclosed paper states the accounts. . . . It rains so extremely hard, and Mr. Secretary has enjoined me to attend him, that I cannot step to my lodging out of Whitehall for the more particular account which Mr. Dury delivered me, with an attestation under Mr. Ulrich's own hand. I shall send it by the next. So soon as ever I get more money, I shall faithfully return it to you by Mr. Tronchin, who, I hope, will acquit himself of all the malicious and (I am persuaded) the false calumnies of his sworn enemies. I entreat you to mediate in his behalf at Berne, whereby you will extremely oblige me. Mr. Pictet speaks merely out of favour to his cousin Turche; the man is extremely just in all other matters, but it is observed of him, that he cannot forbear being partial when his kindred are concerned.

We have no news stirring here, but that the council are now sworn ; they are not all assembled as yet (being very many of them out of town), so that we know not what alterations will be. It is observed by some here, that the Lord Lambert* has not yet taken the new oath. The Churland agent has, this afternoon, taken his leave, and has given him a present of one hundred and twenty pounds. I am, in great haste, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 23, 1657.

SIR,—Since my last, they have here made no great progress in any business of consequence. Three days ago, the two hundred met, but spent most of the time in questioning one of their ministers for preaching against the renewing the league with France. They deferred their final sentence against him till another time, being desirous to hear the contents of the letters which were come hither, the night before, from the senate of Berne, wherein they expressed a desire to have an extra-

* Lambert deserted Cromwell at this period, and retired altogether from public business.

ordinary assembly of deputies from the four protestant cantons, to meet at Berne or Aarberg (about twelve English miles from Berne), for causes, as they said, not fit to be written. The senate of Zurich knew not well what to resolve upon such a motion. At the last, they decreed that their third secretary of state should ride away early the next morning towards Berne, and there learn more particularly the reasons of such an assembly. Till he come back, nothing will be done here in the business of the league.

Out of private letters from Berne I gather, that the senate is resolved to draw the Duke of Longueville to Berne, and there to make known to him all their interests, grievances, and complaints against the French ambassador, if they can persuade Zurich and the rest to do the like ; for they seem to believe the duke is willing to speak very plainly and affectionately for them to the king. It is not unlikely that this conspiracy against the ambassador is the cause which the Bernenses would not write in their letters.

In the meantime, Geneva presseth very eagerly the renewing the league, seeming to fear that some great mischief will befall them and the reformed churches of France, if the king be a little more provoked to displeasure by their delays. The letters from Vienna say that, July 6-16, the king, with his

uncle the archduke, went thence toward Prague, with a resolution to tarry in Bohemia till he fully know the inclination of the princes electors.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, July 23, August 2, 1657,
past 11 of the clock, at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—According to promise, I have sent you enclosed Mr. Ulrich's accounts; as also a letter which I received for the last post, which, in a crowd of business, escaped my packet, for which I humbly beg your pardon. Mr. Secretary presents his service to you, but that the truth is, there is nothing here to write of. We have no news at all from France. The French forces are still before Montmedi, but what they intend doing the Lord knows. I hope Mr. Secretary will suddenly procure you some money, and I shall immediately convey the same to you. There were lately commissions treated about the affairs of Sweden and Brandenburg, but what was the result of that meeting, I know not. I perceive the King of Sweden is encompassed with enemies, but hope God will give him victory over all. The night draws on, and I am forced to say no more, but

that I am, in all sincerity, right honourable, your
honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

July 23, old style, 1657.

SIR,—The last week, I sent you, under a blank cover, some Italian news, with three letters for M. A. P., M. I. D., M. I. P., but none for yourself; yours of July 2-12 contained letters from yourself, with the humble petition in folio, and others from Mr. Hartlib, with a printed Mercury; by all which I perceive the present state of affairs with you. I hope these alterations will settle the spirits of many malecontents, for nothing can please *all*.

I have written to Berne in the behalf of Mr. Jacques Tronchin, in such a manner as, I hope, will do him no harm there, but may do him much good. He must not be wanting to himself, but endeavour to demonstrate the malice of his accusers, and the falsehood of the testimonies against him. If you have occasion to send money into Piedmont before he be so well cleared as you desire, Mr. d'Ize will be able to take such a course with the whole body of the reformed church in Lyons, as that you may send money safely by them to Grenoble, without the help of any merchant or banker at Geneva.

Mr. Ulrich's friends here long to hear that he is at liberty. As for the bond which you speak of, I hope Sir O. Fleming hath a good account of it before now. In his letters hither, he made mention of such a bond, which Sir O. Fleming had given to Monsieur Gesner, to procure ready money for it. What Gesner did with it at last, I know not. I hear he is on the way hither. As soon as he comes hither, I shall endeavour to get it out of him, if before that time your letters give me not assurance that Sir O. Fleming is contented with what he did in that business.

I pray you send me a superscription for letters to Mr. Sadler, for I am thinking to write to him.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, July 30, old style.

HERE the two hundred have met twice this week, and have heard the report of their deputies who were at Baden a month ago. They have read the form of the renewed alliance with France, as it was offered by the French ambassador at Baden. They have compared it with that draught which was penned a year ago. But they are not yet come to a final resolution.

Yesterday, a Frenchman came hither, who says he is of our religion, a soldier belonging to the

garrison of Brisach. He said, that town was in very good condition, but the soldiers saw but little money; that in Brisach there are many of our religion, captains, soldiers, merchants, and innkeepers; that all the chief officers of Brisach were gone to Frankfort, because of the election of an emperor there; that before he came out of Brisach, that news was come thither that Montmedi was delivered up to the king, who was the first that entered it, with his guards. The enemy wanted water. They had meal, but, to make bread of it, they were forced to mingle it with beer. In that manner, they could have kept the place a little longer; but hearing of so many English coming, they resolved to accept good conditions whilst they might have them. It was said, those English should now be trusted with the keeping of Montmedi.*

From Nuremberg, July 20-30.—Yesterday, the Prince Palatine Rupert came hither, with a small train, from Vienna. To-day, the senate sent him a present of twenty-eight pots of wine. They say he intends to go to Heidelberg.

The Swedish resident, George de Snolski, hath insinuated a memorial at the directory of Mentz of this tenor:—Although many protested against the instrument of peace made in the year 1648, because of several pretensions, yet, hitherto, none have gone about to break that peace; but now Denmark hath done it, with his arms troubling a part of the empire, having attacked the dutchy of Bremen, saying, that it ought not to have been granted to the Swedes at Munster; and, in his ma-

* The English referred to were the six thousand sent to the aid of Louis by Cromwell.

nifesto, he declares this as the chief reason of his war, calling it his bishoprick, which is contrary to the possession given to the Swedes, together with a right of session among the states of the empire. It is also contrary to the guarantee.

Wherefore the King of Sweden desires to know the intention of the states of the empire, assuring himself that Denmark shall find no support or countenance of the empire from any that intends to keep the peace. He expects their speedy resolution to preserve the empire's tranquillity.

From Berlin, July 1-11.—The Princess Elizabeth is come hither from Heidelberg. She is going to Crossen, to her aunt, our elector's mother.
Y. H. S.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, July 30, old style, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of July 9-19, with the enclosed, which I have faithfully delivered. I hope, ere this, that you have received, by my former letter, the news of the delivery of Mr. Ulrich, with his accounts in particular. There was but seven pounds of the hundred I received left, which Mr. Meadows expects, with nine or ten more, at least, for his twenty pounds. I have not sent any money to your honour, as yet, by Mr. Tronchin, till I have your further commands ; though I am just now giving him an order to remit (as formerly) a thousand pounds to the poor people of Piedmont, believing all his accusations to be mere forgeries, and effects of malice and envy. Your lady has been soliciting for money, but has received none since that two hundred

pounds. If the council had sat this day, I had intended to have sent in a note to Mr. Secretary about it, who is now a member of council, lately sworn, and has a vote, which before he had not. We have no news at all stirring that I know of, or, at least, can think of. Yesterday, came the vice-chancellor and six doctors of Oxford, to Whitehall, most of them in their robes, to inaugurate (if the term be proper) my Lord Richard as chancellor of Oxford, which was done with much solemnity. We have no news from France. All is quiet here.

I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

Mr. Secretary has lately taken one Colonel Sexby, an arch conspirator.*

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

July 30, 1657.

JULY 30, or August 9, or August 19, for so we must write hereafter, if your Mercator might have his will ; as if we were not enough troubled with the Gregorian calendar, but we must have another, far more troublesome ; so that every time that any man hath occasion to write or name a day of the

* Sexby was deeply concerned in Sindercombe's plot.

month, he must express it in three several ways. But, by calling this day August 19, what shall I get more than he that calls it July 30? A great matter; for thereby I shall, without calculation, know, that the sun is about the nineteenth degree of LEO; for that is the huge advantage of *annus cælestis* (as he calls it in the printed sheet you sent me), or *annus, si diis placet, Christianus*, as he calls it elsewhere.*

By this time you foresee my opinions, which you desired to know. Yet I will speak more plainly. My opinion is, that you and I may very easily find some better employment for our few spare hours, than to bestow them upon an inquiry whether the contents of that sheet be true or false. Be they never so true, yet his superscriptions (if publicly received, as he desires,) would bring upon us such intolerable inconveniences as could not be counter-vailed by the petty advantages of his new cycles. But if you desire to see what other men have written of them, Mr. Hartlib can give you copies of some letters written from Oxford to Mr. Mercator, and his replies.

They say Gesner is come home. I have not yet seen him. I hear that the palatine agent will enter-

* The confusion created by the different modes of reckoning dates is very great at this period; and we need not wonder at Pell's dislike to the innovation proposed by Mercator.

tain Mr. Ulrich as soon as he is at liberty, and will take him along with him to Heidelberg.

I believe you remember that, whilst we were together at Geneva, Mr. Secretary sent me England's manifesto against Spain, both in English and Latin. I have the English still ; but I gave the Latin to Mr. Holtshalb, the Zurich deputy, who was then with us there. I could never see it since. I pray send me another copy of the Latin only ; and cut it in pieces, to make it fold more handsomely, and lie closer, than whilst it continues sewed together in a book.

I wish General Montagu a happy voyage. I pray you, when you have any news of or from him, forget not to impart it to

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I received your packet this post, but not any from yourself ; the enclosed are faithfully delivered last Tuesday. Mr. Meadows was ordered to prepare again for his journey to Denmark, and a major-general of the army (I forget his name) to go to the King of Sweden ; the business I cannot tell, but I believe both you and I may easily divine. Yesterday morning, there was one Gardner apprehended in Whitehall, with two

pistols charged in his pockets to have murdered his highness, whose life God Almighty preserve ! Your lady can get no more money as yet. This is all the news at present from, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

Mr. Bradshaw, who was sent as ambassador to Muscovy, is now there lately arrived ; what his success will be, time will shew. The Duke of Churland has been very civil to him in his way, viz., inviting him from Riga to his quarters, because the plague is hot at Riga.

The enclosed packet was sent me too late the last time to my lodging, viz., at nine or ten at night ; all which time I was locked up in Mr. Secretary's study. I must get them to send their letters sooner. I fear they will not send timely also this night.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 6-16, 1657.

SIR,—The secretary mentioned in mine of July 23rd, returning from Berne, made a report of his reception and message. He said, they refused to tell him their reasons why they desired an assembly at Berne or Aarberg. He asked whether they had discovered any cause to distrust him, whom they

bound by an oath of secrecy to all the protestant cantons, whom he had long served in their assemblies. They replied, they did not distrust him, but some of those to whom he must give account when he came home ; that at Zurich there were some of the council who could not keep counsel, but would discover all before the time. He says, he asked them whether there were not such at Berne. They answered, too many, but therefore they should know the less of such affairs as those now in hand. The senate of Zurich, seeing themselves never the better informed for this journey of his, called the council of two hundred, where it was decreed that they would treat again with the French ambassador concerning the league, but first their deputies should consult, not with Berne alone, but with all the protestant cantons together at Arraw, August 4th. Those that are most addicted to France were glad of this vote, and thought they had gained their whole desire in that business ; but the next day, July 30th, when the two hundred met again, it was resolved upon the question,—that the choice of the colonels and captains to serve in France shall be made by the magistrates of Zurich, and not by the king or his ambassador, as hitherto ; and that they will not renew the league till the king agree to this, although all the other cantons should renew without this condition.

This resolution was not unanimous, many dissent-

ing, but not able to hinder, being very much over-voted, so that they begin to fear that they shall always continue the lesser number, and then Zurich will again return to its old singularity of standing out, when all the other cantons are in league with France. Yet some hope that the common council of Zurich will be contented to subscribe the league as other protestant cantons, if the king will give letters of revérs, promising to accept always those officers of war whom the magistrates of Zurich shall from time to time secretly recommend to himself or his ambassador.

In the meantime, the deputies are together at Arraw, where it is thought the deputies of Berne will, to some of the rest, secretly discover more than they will say in the open assembly; which proceeding, being unusual, may cause them to stay longer than they are wont to do; otherwise, the deputies of Zurich will be at home to-night.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

August 6-16, 1657.

SIR,—Yours of 17-27th July assures me of Mr. Ulrich's liberty; I hope your next will bring me the particular account with his attestation which you mention. Mr. Gesner was with me yesterday;

he tells me that Sir O. Fleming very well knows what he did, and with whom he treated for money ; so that Mr. Ulrich ought not to be questioned at all about any obligation of his, &c.

I hope I shall also, the next week, have a letter from Mr. Dury, to whom I pray you convey this enclosed ; it is from Monsieur Stockar, who is now no longer secretary, but treasurer, and therefore privy councillor of his canton.

Of foreign news I have none worth sending.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 13, 1657.

SIR,—The last week, I wrote that the deputies of the protestant cantons were at Arraw ; they are not yet gone thence. One of the Zurich deputies returned home last week, that he might, in the common council of the two hundred, shew the draught of the league, and of the letter which the deputies had penned at Arraw ; wherein they tell the French ambassador that the protestant cantons cannot agree in any conditions but those ; and, therefore, they desire to know whether his excellency have full power to conclude with them according to that draught, from which they cannot at all recede by any alteration. The two hundred of Zurich (in

their assembly, August 8-18th) approved the draught and the letter, and commanded four copies of both to be written fair, and to be sent to Arraw to the deputies. Whereof one copy was for the French ambassador, another for the Duke of Longueville, to whom they intended to make addresses in case the ambassador refused to accept that draught, which they now offer him as their final and unchangeable resolution.

At Arraw, three days ago, the state of affairs was thus :—1. The deputies were agreed in all points concerning the league with France, save only that Zurich and Berne would have the nomination of the colonels, and captains, which should command their subjects abroad. But Basil and Schaffhausen (being much smaller, and therefore sending fewer soldiers) did not think fit to contest with the King of France for the command of so few. 2. They resolved to send from Arraw one deputy of each canton to salute the Duke of Longueville; and the men were named. But August 9-19 at night, they received letters, which assured them he was gone from his town of Neufchastel, upon their borders. He went only with six post-horses, leaving all the rest of his train without any order when they should follow him. It was reported that this sudden departure was caused by a letter, which assured him that the prince of Condé had made an irruption into Normandy, whereof the duke is governor.

But here men suspect it was rather a letter from the French court, procured by the ambassador at Soloturn, who could not be ignorant of the intentions of this people to treat with the duke; and therefore it concerned him to endeavour that he might be forbidden to meddle with that business, or else might be hindered by revocation.

3. As for their intestine quarrels with the popish cantons, the deputies of those that are least interested profess all readiness to cooperate; but they advise Zurich and Berne to take heed of precipitation, because they believe that time and patience must be the principal ingredients of remedy fit for that sore.

4. They had been also consulting what is fit for the cantons to do for the taking away that great scandal, arisen by the disagreement between the Prince Elector of Heidelberg and his lady; but that rent seems too great to be amended. Some begin to foresee very sad consequences, with which it is not yet time I should trouble you. I will therefore rather take my leave, resting,

Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

August 13-23, 1657.

SIR,—I earnestly looked for letters from you the last week, both for Mr. Ulrich's accounts, &c., and because of reports here from popish towns concerning great changes made in the council at Whitehall, by reason of the new oath. I did believe that, in your letters, I should find something to that purpose more worthy of credit. But the post brought none for me. James Tronchin useth to send yours hither under the cover of a merchant of this town. That merchant sent me word that the post had brought none from him, which he wondered at ; and if he should miss the next week also, he should suspect all was not well with Mr. Tronchin. This made me almost afraid to write this week, yet I have adventured in hope that this will come to your hands. Yet I will not send you the copy of the late supplication of our Waldenses against Gastaldo's late prohibition, which diminisheth some of that liberty which they conceived clearly enough comprehended in the concessions of the patent of 1655. I hope Mr. Leger, of Geneva, though he be now rector of that little academy, will find time to send a copy to Whitehall, as well as hither.

We hear that the soldiers of this country go to wrack before Montmedi and Alexandria. Yet the

French seem to hope the taking of both shortly. This morning, letters from Basil say confidently that Montmedi is taken. Of which you will have more certainty from other places before this can come to your hands.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 20, 1657.

SIR,—Since my last, the assembly at Arraw is dissolved. August 6-16, somewhat late, the Duke of Longueville went out of his town of Neufchastel to lodge at his castle of Colombier, and thence hastened forward into France; by which sudden departure he defeated the designs of many in these cantons who intended to have entered into a treaty with him. So the deputies at Arraw sent their draught only to the French ambassador, who answered them that his hands were bound, so that he had not power to accept the draught, nor could he give them any other answer till he had received new instructions from the court.

Last week, the divines of Zurich wrote a letter to the ecclesiastical senate of Heidelberg, concerning the notorious scandal in their electoral court, praying them to use all possible endeavours to remove it; and telling them that, if they desire it,

the political senates of the protestant cantons will write to the prince elector about it ; but they desire first to receive from them a fuller information.

The Baden meeting for pacifying these countries shall be Oct. 16.

No doubt you have heard of Queen Christina's journey to Avignon, where the pope hath caused fair lodgings to be provided for her. She professeth an intention to abide there a long while. She entered Lyons without giving notice of her coming, so that she was not received there with any ceremony ; she lodged in the house of an Italian barber.

From Vienna, they write that the Earl of Trautmansdorf hath commanded the Swedish resident, Klay, to tarry no longer in Vienna, or any part of Austria. Others write thence, that the Swedish resident at Constantinople hath found much favour there, so that the Turkish Chiaus, at Vienna, hath pressed the council to recall all their troops out of Poland. He protests that, otherwise, the grand seignior will send forty thousand Turks to assist Ragotzi.

Letters from Milan assure us that on Saturday night, August 8-18, the French raised their siege before Alexandria, and marched towards Asti.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Aug. 27, 1657.

SIR,—All affairs of state are here at a stand. In the French league, nothing will be done till the ambassador receive new instructions from the court. At Berne, they are already preparing for their vintage, though they have no great hopes of much wine. The tempestuous summer hath, at one time or other, weather-beaten most of their vineyards with hail or lightning.

The Earl of Dona, Governor of Orange, is now at Berne with a great train. He hath lately bought the barony of Coppet, and the lordships of Prengin and Grenolier, all which lie in the dominion of Berne. He came thither to do homage, and swear fidelity. His fine came to about eight thousand crowns of the sun. They have used him with a great deal of courtesy, contenting themselves with four thousand crowns, and offering to make him freeman of their city, which, I think, he hath accepted.

From Frankford, we have hardly anything worth writing. They tell us how many trumpets, mules, sumpter-horses, pages, lackeys, coaches, and carts, entered Frankford with each ambassador. But greater matters are yet uncertain. Some say the Bavarian elector, others say the arch-duke, who resides at Insbrug, hopes to be emperor. But

both the French and Swedish ambassadors say, they will declare open war, if there be a new emperor chosen before satisfaction be given them for the breach of the peace at Munster.

The last letters from Rome tell us that the pope in going to Mount Cavalla, his cross-bearer, Castaldo, rode before him, not holding his cross so fast as he was wont, for it fell and broke in pieces upon the stones in the street. His holiness expressed much discontent. The poor prelate keeps his bed, and, it is feared, will die for grief. The pope is also very sad to see that there is no ambassador from any king now at Rome. A Portuguese is there, but he is not acknowledged for an ambassador, nor his master for king.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Boissay, in Normandy, Aug. 27, 1657, old style,
2 of the clock in the morning.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—It is now about a fortnight since I set out from Whitehall to this place, in order to the changing of my condition ;* which, being something sudden, has made me not be so punctual with you as otherwise I should have been ; however, I gave punctual orders about your letters,

* He went into France to be married.

that they should not any way miscarry, or be hindered in their way.

As for Mr. Tronchin, I verily believe you need not at all fear, for he writes me word that all the danger is past; besides I have word that the 1000*l*. I sent lately through his hands are safely delivered at Grenoble; I look upon all as the inveterate malice of his enemies. I know not what news you have heard of alteration in the council at Whitehall, about the new oath. I heard of none before my coming out, saving only the laying aside the lad, which was done without the least noise in the world, beyond many men's expectations. I hope to finish my business here quickly, and then you shall be more particularly served by,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Paris, September 1-11, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—At my return to this place, I received yours of June 18th-28th, which mentions a resolution in the protestant cantons to employ me in some things that concern them here, (if from Whitehall I had no particular command not to meddle with their league.) It is not fit for me to seek employment, nor will the little interest I have at this court give me leave to promise great

success from my endeavours in their service ; but I think (in duty to our master) both you and I are obliged to assure them in general, that not only I, but all our master's ministers abroad, are both authorized and enjoined to do them all the good offices we can. Though this be my humble opinion in general, yet it is with this salvo, that in the particular mentioned, you (who, by being upon the place, are best able to make a true judgment of their inclinations) may either encourage or discourage any resolutions they may have that way, as you find them less or more engaged in their dependence upon, and affection for, his highness.

I will not trouble you with any apology for my silence during my absence from this place ; from henceforth I shall give myself the advantage of keeping a more frequent correspondence with you, and shall omit nothing that may express my being, right honourable, your most humble and affectionate servant,

WILLIAM LOCKHART.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

September 3-13, 1657.

SIR,—Since my last, dated August 27th, I have received from Basil a copy of a contra-manifesto newly printed there, penned by the burgomaster of

Basil in defence of that sentence which he and his colleague of Appenzel had published, as arbiters. For, three months ago, Gallus, the Abbot of Saint Gall, had printed and published a manifesto against that sentence of theirs, wherein he undertakes to shew its nullity and injustice (*salvo semper honore Dominorum Judicum*), in respect of him and his abbey. Wherefore this new contra-manifesto undertakes to defend that sentence, and to shew his complaints to be unseasonable and without cause; and his adjoined protestation to be unseasonable, unnecessary, and null; *salva semper reverentia principi debita*, for the Abbot of Saint Gall is a prince. If this abbot, with his princely monastery (or God's House as they call it), have a mind to reply in print, they have time enough; for this controversy will not be pleaded at a general assembly of the cantons before the vintage be past, about six or seven weeks hence.

The last Monday, August 31st, the two hundred of Zurich met to hear two letters read which were received a day before; namely, one from the French king to the four cities, Zurich, Berne, Basil, and Schaffhausen, dated, Sedan, the 20th of August, (new style.) The other letter was from the senate of Berne, dated 26th of August, old style, to the senate of Zurich, to this purpose:—"The French ambassador hath sent us a large writing, which expresseth a resolution to abide by his former proposals,

somewhat amplified: he hath adjoined something that looks like threatenings; we have therefore thought fit to send you a copy of it, praying you to communicate it to the other two cantons, and (as soon as may be) to let us know your opinions and sense of this business."

The ambassador's letter to the consul and senate of Berne is dated Soloturn, August 19th-29th, 1657. In the conclusion whereof he tells them, that if they do not agree to that form of the league which he sent them, the king hath commanded him to recede from all that which he hath hitherto proposed, because it was not accepted; that so the whole treaty being brought to a new beginning, his majesty may be free to give him such new instructions concerning Switzerland as may seem most convenient.

The king's letter tells them that he hath seen their draught of the league; but his ambassador's draught is such that there can no further change be made in it; and therefore he hath now ordered his said ambassador to call upon them for a final resolution, without any further treaties, conferences, or diets, save only one; to conclude all with their plenipotentiaries. Seeing it is time to make an end of a treaty which hath been so many years in hand.

When all these letters had been read, the first resolution of the common-council of Zurich was,

that henceforth they would not treat with Monsieur de la Barde ; but they did not then agree upon the way to be taken hereafter. The secretaries have not yet sent copies of those letters, &c., to the English resident, but it is likely they will do it. I shall then be able to send you a fuller account. In the meantime, I remain,

Sir, your faithful servant.

Letters from Paris say, that Sir George Carteret,* who was governor of Jersey, is apprehended and sent to the Bastile, for giving intelligence to King Charles, and to other English favourers of the Spanish faction.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

September 3-13.

SIR,—The last week, I sent you a half sheet full of Italian news, with two letters for Mr. A. Peters, and Mr. Hartlib, but none for yourself, for want of time ; otherwise I should have told you that, August 22nd, I received one from yourself, undated ; but by the former I guessed it was written

* Sir George Carteret, the grandfather of the first Lord Carteret of Hawnes, was a distinguished naval officer, and had been appointed governor of Jersey in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., who created him a baronet in 1645. Soon after the restoration, he was made vice-chamberlain, and was afterwards member for Portsmouth : he died in 1679.

August 6th. It told me of intentions to send to the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and of the apprehension of Gardiner. Spain maintains whole seminaries full of teachers and admirers of such doctrine as is fit to make them, in time, resolute assassins.

I have written to Mr. Hartlib to send you his letters for me more early, that they may not be left out of your packet. I hope the next post will bring me three of his at once, with two of yours ; for the last week's post brought none at all to me, or my merchant, Mr. Tronchin's correspondent.

If Mr. Meadows make haste to be gone, it may be he may call upon you for Mr. Ulrich's money, before the court treasurer be willing to part with any more for me. I hope you have, ere now, received mine of August 20, wherein I prayed you to content Mr. Meadows, and to deduct ten pounds for Mr. Haak out of the next money you shall receive for me.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—One of the secretaries hath been with me, and hath shewed me the letters mentioned in my last, but he did not offer to give me a copy of them. Copies

have been sent to the other protestant cantons, who have returned their answers to Zurich: some of them would have a meeting at Arraw before they resolve to write to the French king. Berne saith, no resolutions can be taken before they can see what answer the Duke of Longueville will send them; for thereby they shall be able to guess whether he be a man likely to stand them in stead at the French court. They have no hopes of the French ambassador, whose long letter to Berne of August 19-29th, being communicated to the rest, hath nettled them all. Some passages seem to have been intended for threatenings, others only to amuse them, which seem so unreasonable here, that they say, surely his excellency begins to doat.

Letters from Heidelberg tell us, that the scandalous business in that court seems past all remedy. The prince elector hath told his ecclesiastical senators that they are busybodies, meddling with that which they have nothing to do withal. A third person, as in the prince's name, hath said as much privately to Doctor Hottinger, of Zurich,* who is divinity professor at Heidelberg, and one of the ecclesiastical senate, but was not present when the elector spoke to the rest. They are all much

* John Henry Hottinger was a very celebrated oriental scholar, and a most prolific writer. He was born at Zurich in 1520, and was accidentally drowned in the river Limas, in 1667.

troubled to see their prince keep a concubine so openly, and shew so great unkindness to that gallant Hessian lady, his consort, without any regard to their admonitions.

From Rome, August 6-16th.—The bandits of Naples* are gathered into a body of divers troops, with ensigns displayed. They have brought many little towns and villages under contribution, and have taken some of the gentry in their country-houses of pleasure. They levy troops, giving every horseman fifty crowns a-month; many run to join themselves to them. Till the viceroy have crushed these outlaws, he cannot send any troops to Milan.

Out of Bavaria, September 4th, new style.—In these parts it is confidently reported that Ragotzi is agreed with the Poles, and is going homeward. That the French intend to begin a new war in Germany; that the prince elector of Heidelberg hath received two millions of French livres; that the other elector's think Frankfort too near France, and will therefore choose the emperor at Auspurg, Regensburg, or Nuremberg.

From Frankfort, August 25th.—Here is little sign of unanimity, and no hope of a speedy election; it is thought the Elector of Mentz is altogether for France. He hath been magnificently entertained by the French ambassador, Mareschal de Grammont, who is posted away to Philipsburg. Snolski, the Swedish resident, at the same time took post for Frankendal.

Some here have received letters very confidently affirming that Ragotzi hath denounced war against the King of Hungary, for crossing his proceedings in Poland.

* The proceedings of these bandits were the subject of much talk at the time; they are described in the *Mercurius Politicus* as “strongly bodied men;” “they say,” adds the same authority, “that there are above eight thousand of them; they march on the hilly countries, with displayed colours and beating of drums, demanding great contributions from the inhabitants of the plain countries.”

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

September 9-19, 1657.

SIR,—I write with an intention to send it in a letter to Mr. H. Ulrich, that he may deliver it to your hands, because I have some reason to suspect the ordinary way, which I have used all this while, by Mr. Tronchin. His correspondent, a merchant of this town, hath received none from Lyons for himself or me these two weeks last past; he sends me word that he conceives this happens because of Mr. Tronchin's absence from Lyons, he being gone to Paris to procure firmer protection for himself than the governor of Lyons can give him. The Bernenses pursue him eagerly, and have arrested his house in Geneva. He fears that, at length, they will get leave to do as much at Lyons, and so will constrain him to deliver himself into their hands to be tried for his life. My merchant protests that he believes Mr. Tronchin to be altogether innocent, and the accusation to be mainly and wholly false, proceeding from the malice of a widow at Geneva, whom J. Tronchin had sued for debt, as old Mr. Tronchin wrote to me three months ago:—*Patrueli meo novam molestiam adversarii quidam creârunt, qui non exiguo ære sunt ei obstricti, et apud amplissimum senatum Bernensem, &c.*

I pray you let Mr. Jacques Tronchin know that I have complained to you that his correspondent

in Zurich received no letters from him or from me, neither the 8th nor the 15th of September, new style ; which made me fear that he had not taken sufficient order at Lyons for the conveying of yours hither, and mine to London.

If you write a few lines to this purpose, and leave the paper unsealed, his son or servant at Paris, may read it, though he himself be, perhaps, then returned to Lyons again. The poor man is much troubled, and may be excused if he sometimes forget other men's business, unless he be now and then admonished.

Sir, I am, your faithful servant.

As soon as you have satisfied Mr. Meadows, and so finished H. Ulrich's accounts, I shall be glad to see it, that so his father and I may come to a reckoning here. I intend to write to Mr. A. Peters to-morrow, and send it to J. Tronchin as formerly.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

September 17-27, 1657.

SIR,—Since my last, Basil hath made a collation of the two draughts of the French league, for the more easy and clear discerning all the particulars wherein the French ambassador's draught differs from that which the protestant cantons offered to

him. Copies of this collation have been sent from Basil to Zurich and the other cantons, but no answer has yet been returned.

It is commonly reported that the French ambassador intends shortly to go to Basil, not to treat with them singly, but only to pass through their town, as lying directly in his way from Soloturn to Brisach, whither, it is said, he intends to go. Some think he shall never be sent back into Switzerland, but shall be employed in some other place, where he may be better liked, for here he is perfectly hated by a great number; others say, he only goes to meet the king at Brisach. I know that he hath written to some that the king, his master, was going to Metz, and from thence would pass into Alsatia with a very considerable army.

The said ambassador hath very lately sent a patent to a senator of Zurich, who hath heretofore been a colonel and gotten great riches in the service of France, but is now so gouty that he cannot go a step; in which patent he is made a gentleman and a knight. It is also said, that he hath given to Monsieur Werdmuller (who was general of Zurich in the late civil war) a patent for the raising of two regiments where he can get them. For it would cost him his head if he should go about to gather soldiers in any part of the dominion of Zurich without leave from the senate of Zurich,

and he will find it very hard to get leave at this time.

The last letters from Insbrug say, that Pigneranda, the Spanish ambassador, was gone from thence by water towards Prague, where he is to consult with the late emperor's council what is now to be done to continue the imperial honour in the house of Austria.

Your faithful servant.

MR PELL TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART.

Sept. 17-27, 1657.

MY LORD,—Five days ago, I received a letter from your excellency, dated September 1st-11th; by which I learned that mine of June 18th-28th was at length come safely to your lordship's hands. Since that time, the French treaty here hath had some varieties of ebbs and flowings, of which I have from time to time given account to Mr. Secretary.

The 1st of July, the Duke of Longueville came to Neufchastel, (or Newenburg, as the Swisses call it,) which is about thirty English miles distant from the city of Berne. The senate of Berne sent some of their own numbers to welcome him, and to invite him to come to their town, hoping to obtain better

conditions by the duke than ever had been offered them by the French ambassador ; and believing that the duke would speak very plainly and affectionately for them to the king, in making known their grievances and complaints against his ambassador. To that end they endeavoured to draw the other protestant cantons to join with them in the draught of such a complaint, and in treating with that duke. But before the deputies could meet from all the cantons in the common-council of Zurich (they call it the senate of two-hundred), it was resolved upon the question (July 30th, old style), that the choice of the colonel and captains to serve in France shall be made by the magistrates of Zurich, and not by the king or his ambassador as hitherto ; and that they will not renew the league till the king agree to this, although all the other cantons should renew without this condition.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

At Boissay, Sept. 22-Oct. 2, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 20th-30th August and 3rd-13th September with the enclosed ; and although I have been out of my station unexpectedly for the space of near five weeks, and so been deprived of an opportunity of answering your letters so constantly as other-

wise I should have done, yet I can assure you that I have sent them very carefully ; as also that they have been all received in their due time, excepting what the contrary winds have of late occasioned. Besides, if I had any opportunity of writing, I had no news to send you, I being in a place where there is none stirring. It is true, I heard, the last week, accidentally, that Mr. Secretary was well, and that all things are in peace and quiet. I have been this fortnight in expectation, first of a ship, and now of a wind, to carry me into England, where I hope, with God's help, to be very speedily, and then I shall redeem the time, and be more punctually with you. In the meantime, I beg your pardon for all my failings, and remain, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

At my return, I shall satisfy Mr. Meadows as well if he be abroad as if he be at home. I heard, notwithstanding, that he has been gone this three weeks.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Sept. 17-27, 1657.

SIR,—The last post brought me yours out of Normandy, dated 27th August, old style ; by which I understand the reason why I had received no letters

out of England in two weeks before. I perceive that Mr. Tronchin wrote not to his correspondent here, because he had no private occasion to write to him, and had no letters to enclose for me ; so that we here unjustly suspected him to be negligent, as those of Berne unjustly suspect him to be dishonest. In which business, you say, he writes, *all the danger is past*. It may be, he hath obtained at Paris sufficient protection against the Bernenses ; but I shall not account that business ended till he have vindicated his reputation, and discovered the villany of his adversaries with their false witnesses, and so have set himself as free as he was when we first knew him.

You tell me your journey into Normandy was in order to the *changing of your condition*. When you have more leisure, I hope you will write more clearly, that I may understand you, unless you desire I should know it from others rather than from yourself. Whatsoever your change is, I hope it will give me leave to continue unchanged,

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

September 24, 1657.

SIR,—The last week, the Duke of Modena's son (who hath married one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces)* came to Zurich with thirty horse and some mules. He had passed through Geneva, where it was said he intended to go to Frankford. But at Zurich he said he came from the camp near Alexandria, and intended to go to Modena, but was forced to take such a crooked course because he could not safely get home by any other way.

Yesterday, a senator of Zurich with a secretary of state delivered to the English resident copies of those writings which the senate had promised him, and prepared to be sent by him to the English ambassador at Paris. But they said, all the other protestant cantons had, by letters, admonished them not to make haste till their deputies had consulted at their next assembly at Baden, which will not be till October 18th ; adding that there could be no inconvenience arising from that delay as long as the English ambassador was so far from the French court, which is now at Metz.

The said writings are both in High Dutch and in French.

* This was the lady whom Louis XIV. proposed to marry, had he not been dissuaded from his project by his mother and the cardinal.

1. 2. The draught of the league and of the letter annexed to be subscribed both at one time, as they were sent, August 10, 1657, to Soloturn, to the French ambassador, from the deputies of Zurich, Berne, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, then assembled at Arraw.

3. The letter sent to the said ambassador from the same deputies with the two aforesaid draughts.

4. The French ambassador's answer to those deputies, dated Soloturn, August 12-22.

5. The deputies' second letter, dated August 13, 1657, in answer to the French ambassador.

From Heidelberg, September 15, old style.—The prince elector is at Frankendal. It is thought he will be at Frankford by the end of this month; all the electors will be there, save Brandenburg.

The French commonly say, their king shall dispose of the voices of the electors of Cologne, Trier, and Bavaria; and that the voices of Brandenburg and Heidelberg will follow. The Bavarian hath declared that he will not refuse the empire if he be chosen.

It is very likely that the French king will shortly go from Metz to Brisach, and, perhaps, as far as Philipsburg. When he comes so near Switzerland, the protestant cantons may do well to treat with his majesty, who, perhaps, looks for it, and hath therefore bound the hands of his ambassador at Soloturn.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Sept. 24, old style, 1657.

SIR,—The last week I received three letters from Mr. Hartlib (containing Mercuries of August 13, 20, 27), all enclosed in a cover superscribed by Mr. Firbank, I think. From yourself I received none. By which I guessed that you had left Normandy, but were not yet come to Whitehall. Of your safe arrival there I shall be glad to hear as soon as may be. I also desire to know what letters of mine you find there received in your absence, and, I hope, carefully reserved for you till your return.

These letters to M. A. P. and to Mr. John Dury I recommend to your care, and yourself &c. to the Almighty. Resting, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, Oct. 1-11.

SIR,—Men are so taken up with their vintages in this country, that they seem to think of nothing else till that business be past.

The French ambassador is not yet gone from Soloturn to Basil. Perhaps he is not to remove till he hear that the king, his master, is come to Brisach, where he is expected by some, whilst others think that resolution altered. An emperor will not soon be chosen, as some hoped. Bavaria

had reason to be confident that he should have the Elector of Cologne for him. But he being now dead, perhaps the successor will be of another mind.

From Frankford, they write that many persons of quality begin to leave that town, not having patience to wait there till the election be past.

From Heidelberg, one writes thus:—The French say, their king is resolved to treat no more with the protestant cantons concerning the renewing the league; but he will make them sue and petition that they may be admitted to a new alliance upon any terms. The prince elector, besides his guard of Swisses, hath prepared a company of gentlemen pensioners to wait upon him at Frankford, whither he intended to go shortly; but the news of Cologne's death may cause some delay.

Letters from Vienna say, that there is manifestly a great jealousy between the officers of the king of Bohemia and his uncle the archduke; because some believe that the uncle seeks the imperial crown for himself.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

October 1-11, 1657.

SIR,—The last post brought me nothing from England or France. But Mr. Tronchin wrote to

his correspondent here, that if I had no letters it was not his fault ; he and his being careful to convey all my letters to and fro.

From Paris, some write that the Lord Ambassador Lockhart is gone in post to the court. But I hear not from Metz that he is yet come thither ; only that the French king came thither September 8-18, and that the pope's nuncio and Venetian ambassador were come thither to the king.

September 21, Mr. Pictet wrote, that he had learned that M. M. was returned from Normandy into England, "*et ne sçay pas s'il aura conclu son mariage ou non.*"

I should be glad to hear that that business were well ended ; and that you were in your former station, wherein you have so many opportunities to oblige

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 8-18.

THE senate here hath received letters, that the five small popish cantons cannot send deputies to Baden so soon as the day formerly named, October 18 ; wherefore now, November 15-25 is appointed for that general meeting at Baden.

Letters from Soloturn say, that some recruits are going thence to France ; and that the French am-

bassador's followers and servants speak no more of their master's going thence to Brisach; but they say, that he hath lately received notice from the court, that it is the king's pleasure that he shall continue in Switzerland two years longer. He will not alter anything in his draught of the league.

From Basil, September 30, old style.—The King of France and the cardinal are at Nancy, in Lorraine. Most men think that, from thence, they will turn westward towards Paris, rather than eastward toward Strasburg or Brisach. Yet the magistrates of Strasburg have received letters from the French court, signifying, that by reason of some important affairs his majesty was necessitated to come into Alsatia, and the parts near the Rhine, and therefore to think of a large and commodious city for the lodging of himself and his court; wherefore his majesty desired to lodge in Strasburg; and, for the safety of his royal person, to have one of the gates guarded only by Frenchmen, his majesty's subjects. The Strasburgers are much troubled at this demand. They have sent three ambassadors to treat with the king about it.

The last letters from Frankfort say, that a courier from Prague brought letters to Count Wolmar; whereupon he posted presently to Bonn, that he might have influence upon the spirits of those who have the power to choose a new Elector of Cologne.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

October 8-18, 1657.

SIR,—October 3, I received blank covers from Whitehall, containing three letters from Mr. Hartlib,

wherein were the Mercuries of September 3, 10, 17, but no letter from yourself.

We have here more complaints out of Piedmont, of which I could now have sent you copies, but that I thought it likely that your acquaintance at Geneva had already sent them to Whitehall, as well as hither.

I have here adjoined what I had from Milan, October 2 and 9. From Madrid, this last post brought nothing to Your humble servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Oct. 12-22, 1657,
9 at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—This very moment, and not before, I received yours of October 22, st. ve., and have but one moment more to say, that two deputies are here lately arrived to complain of the late persecutions of the Polonian and Silesian protestants, for which here is a present collection to be made throughout England. I believe I shall likewise send one thousand five hundred pounds sterling, the next week, to Grenoble, for the valleys, having solicited what I can for their relief in all particulars, but doubting there is not very much to be done, unless by obliging the King of France to take pity on them. We are now printing the ac-

count I formerly gave in, for the satisfaction of the people. Yesterday was the wedding-day of his highness's daughter, the Lady Frances, to the Earl of Warwick's grandchild, Mr. Rich. Within a month will be another of his eldest daughter, Mary, to the Earl of Falconbridge.

I rest, your honour's most humble and faithful
servant, S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

October 15-25, 1657.

From Basil, October 6-16.—I am newly returned from Frankfort, where they expect shortly to see the Spanish ambassador, Pigneranda, with a great train. The misunderstandings between the electors and the states of the empire do so retard the election that none can tell when or where it will be; for it seems likely that it will not be at Frankfort, and, perhaps, not without a new war. The King of France is still at Metz; he intends not to see Brisach this year. The lords of Strasburg have deputed some to congratulate his coming into the parts near them.

From Soloturn, October 8-18.—The French ambassador is to tarry here two years longer. We believe the protestant cantons will find no advantage by skipping over his head, and making other addresses to the king, his master, who needs not to take any great thought for Switzerland. As long as he hath money, he will find soldiers enough elsewhere. Here we have begun levies for Venice; they have good clothes, but little money in their pockets.

From Berne, October 11-21.—The alliance with France hath already drawn two wars upon us, and, in all probability, will cost us a third. This canton is divided into two parts, almost equally, about the question of renewing the league. In the

meantime, we are encompassed with enemies. Monsieur . . . , newly returned out of Valesia, assures us that he finds that, both there and all over the popish cantons, they have lost all the affection which heretofore they bore toward the protestant cantons.

From St. Gall, October 12.—Here we have a report that the King of Hungary will send a great army into Suevia ; we know not for what design. He hath great correspondence with the popish cantons, as we can perceive here by the great packets that pass to and fro by every ordinary post ; those for Switzerland being always superscribed for the Colonel and Landamman Zweyer. This makes us suspect some dark design in hand. Our abbot hath commanded all his subjects to provide new ammunition for war.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

October 15-25, 1657.

SIR,—Your second, from Boissay, made me hope that you were well in England ere I received it, for it was twelve days old when it came to my hands. It tells me, that you have received mine of August 20 and September 3. In both of them I prayed you to deduct ten pounds for Mr. Haak, which I must now unsay again ; for, the last week, I received a letter from him, acknowledging that my wife had delivered so much to him because of your absence.

From Madrid, the last post brought nothing but this : that the English were again gone from Cadiz, but they feared they should soon see them again ;

supposing they were only gone to some Portugal haven to supply some wants.

The last letters from Milan say, that the old Prince Maurice, of Savoy, is dead at Turin. It is he that resigned his cardinal's hat and married his niece, this duke's sister. The next leaf will tell you what the last Venetian letters brought hither concerning Tenedos.

Sir, I am your faithful servant.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

October 15, 1657.

SIR,—Yours of September 23 I received two days ago, with the enclosed to Mr. Rochefort. The title of Dr. Hottinger is *Smegna Orientale*. I thank you for the communication of this ; and, yesterday, I caused to be delivered to Mr. Stoupe that, because Mr. Rochefort was not to be found in these quarters of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Let Marcus, to whom my hostess's kinsman wrote, know so much.

Mr. Morland is in France, committing matrimony ; hath been there this month and above. I know not how he dealt with Mr. Meadows. As for H. Ulrich, it may be he is *een wacker Berst*. Yet then I could not perceive it ; nor doth his outward carriage in discourse seem to characterize him such, for so far as I have yet found, I shall be very glad

he may do well for his father's sake and his own. M. Pelier, the prince elector palatine's agent here, is upon despatch ; he hath gotten a promise from his highness, that he will recommend to the parliament the demand of the elector for the continuance of his former pension. If H. Ulrich stay after the agent's departure, I wish he may not run into former inconveniences. If he should receive a character from hence to be constant here to send intelligence thither, I shall assist him what I can ; and you may let his friends there know so much.

I am not yet in a posture here to act towards foreigners, but am endeavouring to lay the foundation first among ourselves. Our proceedings are slow ; and the posture of Germany, chiefly in the Lutheran party, is not fitted to entertain any motions from me ; Sweden and Denmark must first agree before I can hope to bring them to any thoughts of my work. Holland, and chiefly Amsterdam, who has engaged Denmark, doth blow the coal, and will do all they can to hinder their agreement, except it be with fresh conditions, as they shall approve of, for the interest of their trade in the Baltic sea.

I have not seen the book which is called *Lux in Tenebris, hoc est prophetiæ donum, &c.*, but will inquire after it, and then tell you what I find.

In my last, I did let Mr. Wirtzius and the Antistes know what I would advise about Danhawer, of

Strasburg ; but I expect to see his book sent me hither, sent from Amsterdam or Frankfort.

If you send any letter hither for Mr. Moriaen, I shall have care to send it by the surest way that I can, which is by one of his intimate acquaintance at Amsterdam. I know no way surer than this, nor shorter.

I rest, Sir, your faithful servant in Christ.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 22, old style.

YESTERDAY, here were mustered all our citizens, and the dwellers in suburbs, between twenty and thirty years old, which might seem to be only of course, because now we are at leisure, our vintage being newly finished. But there is more in it ; for the last Saturday (October 17), in our common-council, it was, upon the question, resolved to renew the war against the popish cantons, rather than give them any recompence for their damages by the late war ; for we had heard that those of Switz had sworn they would make us give them the county of Turgow in part of payment of their charges. The next day (October 18), our chief secretary of state went to Baden, there to meet the deputies of all the other cantons. The popish cantons had given out that they could not come thither so soon. Some

think, they hoped so to surprise us that we might not have time to consider what instructions to give our deputies. But that shall not much help them. We have decreed to send three deputies ; the same that were before. Two of them tarry here, and will not go to Baden till the youngest send them word that their presence is necessary. He hath written, that he finds there four deputies from Uri, namely, Colonel Tsweyer and three others, who say, they are commanded not to sit in the assembly without him. If, therefore, the Switenses have now no mind to make an end of our controversy, they may easily find a cause of delay by renewing their quarrel against Tsweyer, of Uri, protesting they will not sit with him.

There are yet in the canton of Switz some Nicodemites remaining ; by whom we have understood that, in their late grand assembly at home, it was inquired, whether their deputies at Baden should not now demand reparations of all damages. He that first gave his sentence spoke very moderately ; telling them, it were better to defer that demand till another time, when their friends might be better able and more ready to help them, Spain and the house of Austria being now wholly taken up with the consideration of their own affairs. But the second replied, that in this deliberation they ought not to rely upon Spain or Austria, but upon God and his saints, as their valiant forefathers were

wont to do. In so great an assembly of near three thousand voters, it was hard to say which of those two opinions had the most approvers. At the last, they were forced to number them, and found that this latter opinion exceeded the other by four voices. So that now Zurich can expect no other, but that the deputies of Switz will make such a demand at Baden in the very first session of that assembly. The other cantons might do well to agree upon a neutrality, and let Zurich and Switz fight it out alone. But that cannot be hoped ; the popish cantons are firm and faithful to one another, having sworn (by God's mother and St. Carlo Borromeo) to live and die together in this quarrel. Here, at Zurich, we are resolved to turn over a new leaf, and in many things to differ from the course we took this time two years. We have named three of our senators, who, with no greater title than colonel, are to divide between them the care of our borders next to Switz. He that was our general refused to be one of them, saying, he could not, with honour, stoop to a lower title ; but, having slept two nights upon it, and finding henceforward we could call no man our general, he was contented with the title of colonel, and on Monday last, in the common-council, accepted the charge with thanks.

If the French ambassador come to Baden, our deputies have order to stand to our draught of the league, and not to recede from it in anything.

From Basil, October 14-24.—The brother of Mareschal Grammont is come hither from Frankford; he pretends no business, but only to see the city. The magistrates have welcomed him with such civility as they usually express to strangers of quality.

The Elector of Bavaria continues to fortify Werden, reinforcing the garrison, sending cannon and munition thither. The Prince Elector of Heidelberg hath reason to raise forces (not for the French, as the talk goes, but) to defend his own country. His brother, Prince Robert, gathers troops for Austria.

The Frankford assembly melts away. Many ambassadors are gone thence; others are ready to go. The Elector of Saxony hath declared, that he will not come thither till the French ambassadors be gone thence; and they say, they will tarry there to see who will go about to force them thence.

From Prague, October 10-20.—The Spanish ambassador here is making ready for his journey to Frankford. He hath order to pray the electors and their ambassadors to leave Frankford, and, at his charge, to go to Ratisbon (Regensburg), there to choose a new emperor.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

SIR,—The last week brought no English letters to your faithful servant. October 22nd, sty. vet.

With this I sent two letters; one for Mr. A. P., another with this inscription:—"A Monsieur Monsieur Dureus, celebre Theologien à Londres."

That of Mr. Dury was from Antoni von Graffenried Schultess, of Berne, who wrote this to the Antistes of Zurich:—"D'envoyer par vos addresses la cy joincte à Monsieur Duré en Angleterre, laquelle

je luy ay escripte pour tascher de l'encourager en la prosecution de l'œuvre excellente qu'il a commencée, l'avancement de laquelle nous souhaitons avec souspirs et larmes, et voudrions bien avoir le moyen d'y pouvoir contribuer."—*A Berne, ce 17 Octob. 1657.*

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

29th Oct., old style, 1657.

Berne, le 25 d'Octobr, 1657.—On est fort irrité icy contre Monsieur Tronchin, lequel a esté pendu icy en effigie, à cause des fausses monnoyes, duquel on parle qu'il aye ouvri les lettres, de* LL. EE. escriptes au Roy de France. J'ay travaillé de toute ma force pour luy, au regard des Messieurs les amis de Geneve, que vous sçavez.

Sir,—These two weeks last past, no English letters are come to the hands of your faithful servant at Zurich.

I pray you send these two adjoined little pages † to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, at your best leisure.

* "Leurs Excellences; that is, the chief magistrates of Berne."

† "The title pages were those of Dr. Buxtorf's Bible and Critica Sacra."—*Pell's note.*

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 22nd Oct., old style, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have but this little moment to certify to you, that, on Saturday night last, I arrived here safe with my dear wife (I bless God, both of us in perfect health), who presents you with her most honourable service. I was stopped on the other side the sea six weeks for want of a ship, though General Montagu sent no less than four, three whereof, instead of coming to Dieppe, were carried by the wind, or rather their interest and private gain, to Havre de Grace. Yesterday and this day, which I had designed to have looked over all your letters you sent me, which were kept in England by Mr. Denslaw, who daily expected my arrival, and to answer to all such particulars as might be of concernment, and for what should be found past remedy, to beg pardon, I have been employed by Mr. Secretary the whole time, and must entreat your pardon for a large and more distinct letter till the next post, and in the meantime remain, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

His highness and all are well here, blessed be God.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, October 29th, old style.

OUR people have been mustered, not only in the city, but also in the whole territory of this canton. Our deputies are all returned from Baden. They spent only two days there with the deputies of the other protestant cantons. There the deputies of Berne shewed them the copy of the letter which the Duke of Longueville had lately written to their neighbour, the governor of his town and province of Neufchastel. Whereupon the deputies of Berne and Basil inferred, that we all ought to agree in a letter to be sent to the said duke, and henceforward not to treat at all with the French ambassador who resides at Soloturn.

As for the day of thanksgiving and prayer, which every year about this time is observed all over the protestant canton and allies, the deputies agreed that now it should be kept November 5th, old style. They did not choose that day with any relation to the solemnity of that day in England (which none of them thought on) ; but because it was the first Thursday that could be conveniently signified to all their subjects after their return from Baden.

None of the popish cantons had any deputies at Baden, save Uri. The other deputies met and sat at Bremgarten, and afterwards at Mellingen ; but said they could not come to Baden as long as

Tsweyer, of Uri, was there. Here some say, this is but a feigned quarrel between them, that so they may have pretences to defer all our meetings for agreement ; as also that they may arm, pretending that Lucerne, Switz, Underwald, and Zug, intend to make war upon Uri for defending Colonel Tsweyer, and refusing to send him to answer to the articles of treason which those four other cantons have laid to his charge. But others think this is a real breach ; and that, indeed, they will go together by the ears as soon as the season will give them leave. For those of Uri are so encompassed with craggy mountains, that they believe themselves alone able to keep out those four cantons as long as the winter lasts.

The news of the Cologne elector's death was written hither from so many places that we believed it. We have since heard that he was not so much as sick, but that the official of Cologne was dead, whom some call the consecrating bishop ; because the elector himself, as a prince, meddles not with those sacred things, but leaves all those consecrations and ordinations to be performed by his deputy. They which knew not this, hearing that the Bishop of Cologne was dead, understood it of the elector, and so deceived themselves and others.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Oct. 30th, 1657,
ten at night.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—To my great grief, I have not had as yet any time to read or peruse so distinctly as I desired those letters which have come into England from you since my departure; I can only now name their dates, namely,—August 6-16th, August 9-19th, September 17-27, September 24th, old style, October 1-11th, October 8-18th. To which last I can answer now briefly, that I have received those papers concerning Piedmont, and intend to present them speedily, and in the meantime, beg your pardon for the present (there being no news at all stirring worth the troubling you with), and remain, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant, S. MORLAND.

His highness and Mr. Secretary, God be praised, are very well. General Montagu has been in town almost three weeks; my Lord Lockhart was in town, but is now returned to France, about a week since. We take a great deal of pains, and care, and cost, to preserve Mardyke.* All the letters to Mr. Secretary have been delivered seasonably from time to time.

* Mardyke was taken on the 23rd of September by the joint army of France and England, and was given up to the English according to the treaty.

MR PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, Nov. 5, old style.

THE church takes up most of our time to-day, so that we can hardly find a spare hour for writing of letters.

We do not yet hear that the canton of Switz hath returned an answer to the letter sent them from Lucerne, wherein they were invited to send their deputies to Lucerne, to sit together with the deputies of all the other popish cantons, to hear Colonel Tsweyer make answer to all the articles laid to his charge, and to give their sentence with the other judges for his absolution and condemnation ; the other cantons being resolved to proceed to judgment at the day appointed, although the Switenses should send no man thither.

We have here, this week, received a letter from the King of France, dated March 3rd. It seems the ambassador hath kept it by him these eight months, in hope to make an end of this treaty of the league ; but now he hath sent it, and at the same time, he sent another to Schaffhausen, of which they have not yet sent a copy hither. In that which came to Zurich, the king requires the senate to cause his jewels to be restored to the colonel, from whom two captains (one of Zurich, and the other of Schaffhausen) took them and carried them from Paris into Switzerland.

The senate of Zurich hath also this week received a letter from the Duke of Longueville, inscribed "To all the evangelical cantons," wherein he tells them that he hath delivered their letters to the king and cardinal, and shall be ready to do as much for them again, as soon as the court is returned to Paris.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, Nov. 12, old style.

THE last spring, the popish cantons sent eight hundred foot to serve the Spaniards in the Duchy of Milan against the French ; we hear that about fifty of them returned a few days ago, saying, that the Spaniards had dismissed them ; and that their fellows were all dead, most of them about Frescarolo. Our popish neighbours are much discontented, so that the next year the Spaniards will not easily get recruits among them.

The French king hath caused notice to be given to all the merchants of Zurich, &c., at Lyons, that they must not henceforward expect any privilege or immunity ; but must pay as much custom in France as any other merchants, strangers, pay. Many of our merchants have sent hither complaints, that their goods and merchandizes are stopped at the custom house of Lyons. Some say, that the court will proceed to inquire into all merchants' accounts,

and will arrest all our effects, bills of exchange, &c., as lately they served the Hollanders. If France begin a war upon us, it will presently fall heavy upon Berne, Geneva, and Mulhausen. In the territories of Zurich, many thousands of artisans would be undone, because they get their living by preparing of commodities, which the merchants sold in France. All these inconveniences might be avoided, if we would renew the league, but the preachers have made the people averse from it, so that the magistrates dare not do that which in their own judgments they account necessary to be done. Many of your younger ministers preach vehemently against leagues with idolaters, &c., and few of the old ones speak in favour of a league with France.

From Saint Gall, they write that Tsweyer, the landamman (chief magistrate) of Uri, hath been lately with their abbot, who continues to arm his subjects, and to make great provisions of carabines, pistols, &c.

From Schaffhausen, some write, that their treasurer (Mr. Stockar, who was in England) is going to Chur, in Rhætia, being chosen arbiter for the canton of Berne in a controversy concerning money lent heretofore by Berne to some of the communities of the Grisons. We hope it will be ended friendly, and not cause a breach among friends so encompassed with enemies.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 19-29, 1657.

SIR,—Having written to Mr. Morland concerning the letters out of Piedmont, I account it unnecessary to repeat the same here. The letters intended to be sent from hence to Turin are not yet finished. I think they will give me copies of them before the next post-day.

The greatest discourse here is concerning the prince elector palatine. For it hath been written hither from Heidelberg, that he hath received large sums of money from the French, and begins to raise an army. Some add that he hath given patents for six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Others say, that he hath promised to deliver Frankendal to the French as a caution till he repay the borrowed money. But his neighbours will make other interpretations of his counsels if they see a French garrison in Frankendal, knowing that France will be desirous to keep it always, as well as that of Philipsburg, (or, as the older maps call it, Udenheim,) about twenty-five English miles from Frankendal. Some begin to guess that the French, being unable to separate the Bavarian elector from the house of Austria, will now promise to assist the Elector of Heidelberg against the Bavarian, for the recovery of the upper palatinate, and the title of vicar.

But these are but conjectures with which I will not now further trouble you, but take my leave, resting, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

November 19-29, 1657.

SIR,—Since the last post went hence, Monsieur Schmid brought me a copy of an Italian letter, dated Sept. 18, 1657, written by the deputies of the churches in Piedmont at a synod at Villaro del Perousa, to the four ambassadors which were sent out of Switzerland to Turin, for their sakes, in the year 1655. As also a French *Memoire de la très humble remonstrance*, which, in August last, they prayed Monsieur de la Lande to present to their Prince of Piedmont or duke, &c., in their name. He told me that the senate of Zurich had thought fit that new letters should be written to Monsieur Servient, the French ambassador at Turin, to the Count Tortii, to the Baron de Greisy, which letters he had sent to Geneva to be translated out of High Dutch into Italian, and had withal desired Mr. Ledger, &c., to admonish if they thought anything ought to be added, put out, or altered. In the meantime, they thought it would not be amiss to pray me to send copies of the two foresaid papers to Whitehall. I answered, that it was very probable that

Mr. Leger had already sent copies of them to you, which I promised to inquire in my next letters to you, that so I might send them, if by your answer I found that you had them not.

Other Savoy news I have none, save that letters from Paris say, that the Duchess of Savoy hath signified to the French king that the Duke of Parma professes a desire to marry her youngest daughter, whom you have seen at Turin.

October 31, I received from Lyons a packet greater than usual. I hoped it was the Latin translation of England's manifesto against Spain, printed anno 1655, of which in mine, July 30, I had prayed you to send me another copy. But when I had opened it, I found nothing from England, but all from Monsieur Jaques Tronchin, namely, six several French papers and discourses printed at his charge, with a letter written to me from Paris, Oct. 13-23. The last post brought me another from him, dated Paris, Nov. 3-13, with another print to prove his *originnaire François*. He tells me he will send other prints by the next. I also then received a long Latin letter from old Mr. Theo. Tronchin, dated Genevæ, die 10-20 Novembris, with a French discourse in two sheets and a half with this title, *Pour Sieur Jaques Tronchin*. I believe they have been no less careful to send you copies of them all. I pray you, when you write to him, let him know that I say, that I am glad to see him use so much

diligence to discover the villany of those witnesses, and the bottom of their design against him ; and that I will here endeavour to promote the demonstration of his innocence, &c.

The last post brought me also two from Mr. Hartlib, enclosed in yours of Oct. 22. By which I understand that you were, at length, safely arrived at W. H. with your *fair choice*. One that knows her very well wrote hither two months ago that she is *fort bien faite et fort vertueuse*.* Perhaps I saw her once with her mother's sister, Madame Micheli, at my lodgings. My service is not worth presenting to her at this distance. Nor do I believe that any of mine have French enough to do it for themselves. I hope she will endeavour to learn the language of the place whither you have brought her, that she may understand the plain English of those that belong to her and your faithful servant.

I could wish that Mr. Meadows were satisfied before Monsieur Pelier return to Heidelberg, because it may be he will take H. Ulrich with him.

* By some letters printed in Pepy's Correspondence, the justice of this latter epithet seems very doubtful. After a few years, Morland was glad to obtain a divorce from his wife.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, November 19-29, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 29th October, old style, and do believe that the winds and ill-weather have hindered several of my letters from coming to your hands in their due time, although I have been hindered much of late. We have no news at all stirring here. We expect great matters from the next parliament. Some say, our soldiers die very fast at Mardyke, and that they are in some want ; but I do not believe all that men report. We expect daily the issue and success of the affairs which our public ministers are agitating with the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark. I have this week got 1500*l.* for the poor people, to be immediately sent them ; and fresh applications to the court of France in their behalf. My account of the collected moneys, of which your honour and I had the charge, is now in the press, which I hope will be a satisfactory, substantial, and authentical discharge for both of us to all the world. That account must be a forerunner of a great collection for the Polonian protestants. I sent your honour's papers this day immediately to Mr. Hartlib, as soon as I received them ; and shall deliver yours to Mr. Secretary within a few hours. This week, I suppose, or the beginning of the next, the Lady Mary, his highness's daughter, will be married to

the Earl of Falconbridge ; the Lady Frances was married about a week since. His Highness, General Montagu (who presents your honour with his most humble and affectionate service), Mr. Secretary, and all, are well here ; and that you are so is the hearty prayer of your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, Nov. 26th, English style.

THIS week, our senators have received letters from several parts, which have given them occasion of frequent and long consultations.

From Lucerne, a very civil letter, in the name of the deputies from Zug and Underwald assembled at Lucerne, to signify that those three cantons had not yet finished the controversy between Switz and Uri concerning Colonel Tsweyer, so that they cannot meet in December as was desired. They therefore pray that another day, about the middle of January, may be appointed ; before which time, they hope they shall compose that business. Till then, they could not sit in an assembly with those of Uri ; hereupon Zurich hath named January 10th-20th for the day of a general assembly at Baden.

2. Letters from Appenzel protest that they cannot any longer defer the renewing the league with France, because the greatest number of that canton subsists by spinning, weaving, and whiting, of linen cloth, which is sold in France by the merchants of St. Gall, who complain they cannot continue that traffic, because in France they are forced to pay as great impost as any other merchants, being no longer favoured as allies, because the protestant cantons have not yet renewed the league.

3. Letters from Berne to the senate of Zurich, signify that they persist in their former resolution concerning the league ; to have it only defensive, not offensive ; to exclude Alsatia, and to demand arrears. Zurich replied, they hoped that Berne continues also in the resolution to have the naming of the colonels and captains. But it seems Berne is fallen off to the opinion of Basil and Schaffhausen, and so leaves Zurich alone to stand upon that article.

4. Schaffhausen wrote to the senate of Zurich, praying them to join in a letter to the King of France in excuse of those men who, anno 1652, had carried away his jewels from Paris to Zurich and Schaffhausen, for fear they should be lost in so seditious and tumultuous a place as Paris then was. But this being proposed to the two-hundred of Zurich, it was, after much debate, resolved upon

the question, that all the officers who pretend to money upon the French jewels shall meet to agree upon a draught of heads of such a letter, to be written by the senate for them to the French king, whose letters promise to redeem the jewels, when they are again at Paris.

5. But, November 21st, old style, an express from Lyons brought letters to the merchants of Zurich, signifying there was an arrest laid upon all the goods and effects belonging to the merchants of Zurich and Schaffhausen, because they had not caused their captains to bring back the jewels according to the letters which his majesty had written to those cantons.

This unwelcome news of so sudden an arrest caused the merchants of Zurich to complain to the senate, who have assembled the two-hundred every day since. A great part of the first day was spent in considering who were to be shut out at that consultation, as claiming an interest in those jewels, or being kinsmen to those claimers; and in naming a man to whom the treasurer should deliver those jewels. The next day, they thought fit to deliver them to an old colonel (who is now here at Zurich), because he had them in his keeping at Paris; and from him the captains there took them without his knowledge, as he pretends. But when this message was brought to him, he prayed

them to excuse him. I have not yet heard any certain relation of what they have done more in this business.

From Basil, Nov. 18-28.—The Elector of Mentz endeavours to persuade the other electors to conclude a peace between Spain and France, before they meddle with the election of an emperor. But at Frankford, some have started a question, Whether the diet of deputies are not to be separated from the diet of election. They hope, before this be determined, the King of Hungary will be old enough to be chosen King of the Romans. In the meantime, the pope labours with all his might to reconcile his children; that with joint forces he and they may make war upon those that hate or slight him.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Nov. 26, 1657, English style.

SIR,—By the last post, I expected yours of October 29th and November 5th; but it seems the wind was not so favourable as to bring the latter soon enough. In the former, I was glad to find that our greatest friends are in good health. Some here wondered to hear me say, that you wrote that there was no considerable news stirring there; whereas, letters from Paris speak thus:—

“Le Protecteur d’A. a fait arrester le Duc de Buckingham, et conduire de l’isle de Wicht en celle de Jersey, ayant prins jalousie de l’alliance

qu'il a contracté avec la fille de General Fairfax.*
On apprehende quelque ligue avec Lambert."

The letters from Geneva speak of old Mr. Tronchin as if he were likely to die shortly.

I have not now time to be large ; I must break off.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Nov. 26-Dec. 5, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received none from you this week ; I suppose the reason is, the contrary wind. We have no news here worth the noting. His highness was something indisposed about two days since, but now, blessed be God, is something better. The Spaniard has lately made some attempts upon Mardyke, but in vain, and we hope it will still be in vain. I suppose you hear before this, the certainty of the flying reports which we have here of the late strange conquests of the King of Sweden ; I could heartily wish that three-fourths were true. I am so pressed with the

* The Duke of Buckingham married Mary, only daughter and heiress of the great Lord Fairfax, September 24th, 1657. It is not very clear why he was arrested ; he was soon afterwards enlarged, and permitted to reside at York House, in the Strand.

printers who are printing off our accounts of the Piedmont money, that I cannot say more at present, but that I am, right honourable, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I shall send you, at least, that part of the accounts which concern yourself when it is finished.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

December 3-13, 1657.

SIR,—In yours of November 12th, you have this passage :—“ We are now printing the account I formerly gave in, for the satisfaction of the people.”

When I read these words, I fell into a sad apprehension that such an account printed and published might be a cause of much mischief to that poor people and their friends. I called to mind, that the Savoy ambassador, the Baron of Greisy, had told me, at Baden, that the Waldenses were grown very rich by great contributions from abroad. Upon this ground, the court of Turin thinks them able to endure a fleecing, and from thence will proceed to flay them. The duke already calls upon them for tribute (tasso and taglie as they call it) for the year 1655, although his soldiers then

made as great a havoc of their lives and estates as they could. What will he not do when, out of our authentic records, he can prove that in less than two years they have received so much money from other countries.

Besides, your printed account may bring much trouble and danger upon their nearest friends ; it will discover the names of those that received all that money. You know that it is death to carry money out of France, though it be but to Geneva, a town not five English miles distant from the borders of France ; so that ordinarily it costs one and a half, and sometimes two, per cent., to make over money from Lyons to Geneva. After your published account hath taught the French to trace your money to Lyons, the merchants of that city will be questioned, and may escape punishment if they can prove they made over part of it by bills of exchange to Geneva, and sent mere money only to Grenoble. But what answer shall be given by those of Grenoble ? We sent shoes, clothes, blankets, &c., and how much money ? If Dauphiné be accounted part of France, yet surely Angrogne is not. It will be well if those of Grenoble can prove that Pignerol, though in Piedmont, ought to be accounted France ; if no man can prove that they sent out money to any place save Pignerol.

If this letter come not too late, let it persuade you to represent these reasons to some of the com-

mittee for Piedmont, who may endeavour to incline to a major part to make less haste in publishing your account. Certainly, the better part of the people will be satisfied with the great esteem that they have of so honourable a committee, especially if the accounts be shewn to as many of the parliament and other persons of quality as shall desire to see them. In the meantime, you may write to Grenoble to Mr. Dury, and let him know what some think fit to be done for the satisfying of our people in that business ; and that, if he foresee any inconveniences which may be prevented by such cautions as he can suggest, he may do well to send them to you without delay ; howsoever, let nothing be said of it by Mercurius Politicus or his French translator, whose numeros are weekly sent to the Baron of Greisy, who reads them over to see whether there be any passages concerning the Waldenses, &c.

You write that you are shortly to send more money to Grenoble for them, by Mr. Tronchin, I suppose, who hath hitherto been your ordinary instrument in that business. It was my intention that my money should come through his hands, because I hoped he would do it roundly, and without any trouble to me ; to which end, in all my letters of this year, I gave order that whatsoever money my wife received for me, she should deliver

it to you, and trust to your care and experience for the sending it to me through France ; but she, receiving money whilst you were absent, and knowing that I had received none in a long time before, but not knowing how long it would be ere you returned out of Normandy, treated with Mr. M. Noel to make over 390*l.* sterling hither to me through France, which, under his hand, he promised to do, September 22nd ; thirty-two days after, that is, October 24th, I received letters from Mr. Noel, dated September 28th, wherein he tells me that he hath ordered his correspondent at Paris to remit me V. 878 for 200*l.* sterling, and to accept my bills for V. 830 for 190*l.* sterling more, which he would have me draw upon him. These letters were enclosed in a letter, dated Paris, 9-19th Octobre, from Mr. Jean Richard, Monsieur de la Porte, &c., wherein he willed me to draw V. 830 upon him when I pleased ; and told me that he had remitted V. 872 to Lyons for me, 400 by one pair of merchants, and 472 by another pair. The men's names he added, but their correspondents dwelt I know not where. At length, I learned here, that they dwelt at St. Gall, about forty-four miles beyond this town ; letters being written to them, they sent me the money, November 5-15th, but with such abatements by misreckonings and over-valuing of species, that other letters must be

written to them ; so that at the last, November 12-22nd, I received from each of them a second parcel, to supply the defects of the former.

I had another trouble to find a merchant here, by whom I might draw the eight hundred and thirty ecus out of Monsieur Richard's hands. No man knew him here ; and, till those of St. Gall had paid the first money, nobody here had a mind to trouble their correspondents to look after him for the *second*. But one of Zurich undertook to try whether the money could be gotten to Lyons. By him I sent a bill of exchange and a letter of advice to Mr. J. Richard, at Paris, dated November 12-22. What will come of it, I know not. But this I know, that, nine days after, namely, November 21, letters from Lyons came hither, giving notice that all the merchants of Zurich and Schaffhausen were arrested by the French king's command. No man knows when the arrest will be taken off ; nor do I yet know whether my bill of exchange will escape the arrest. But hereby you may perceive that I am in some danger to lose one hundred and ninety pounds sterling, or, at least, to wait long for it, and not to get it without intolerable trouble. Wherefore, till all be well between France and Zurich, I have no mind to go that way any more, but to return to the way which I have hitherto used, through Germany. Here are men that have correspondents at Hamburg and Amsterdam. I intend, the next

time, to make trial of some of them ; and therefore, as ever since I left England till now, I made use of those merchants and bankers in Germany with whom Mr. Haak had made me acquainted, so I must trouble him the next time that I have money to be sent from England hither.

The old year will be very near the end before this can come to your hands. By that time, my wife will dream of Whitehall reckoning of five hundred and fifty pounds sterling. She and I will hope that, by your help, she may shortly receive at least three hundred pounds (because that odd arrear of fifty pounds upon a former warrant may cause troublesome reckonings hereafter), out of which I pray you deduct *ten* pounds, to save you harmless for H. Ulrich towards Mr. Meadows. I doubt the court of France will take order that, for this time, I shall not dare to put you to the trouble to make over the remainder to

Your faithful servant.

P.S. Zurich sent letters and a colonel to Solothurn, to the French ambassador, to pray him to take off the arrest. His answer came hither yesterday. I have herewith sent you a copy of it. Other news I have none to send to Mr. A. Peters, to whom I pray you to excuse me, and to present my humble service.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 10-20, 1657.

SIR,—It is feared that the French jewels may prove costly to the Switzers. In my last, I only told you, that the senate of Zurich offers to restore them to the old colonel that kept them at Paris ; and that he had prayed them to excuse him. So far that business was come November 26, which was here post-day.

That night, by order of the senate, two senators and the second secretary of state delivered them jointly to that old man and to a younger colonel, who had also long served in France, but is now so gouty that he cannot stir a foot out of his place without help. The next morning, November 27, the old colonel (taking with him a captain, his own nephew) rode toward Soloturn, to the French ambassador, with a letter from the senate of Zurich, and instructions in what manner to treat concerning the jewels and the arrest. December 1, before noon, the captain was at home again, with a letter from the ambassador to the senate of Zurich. The old man, who could not ride as fast as his nephew, came not till the next day. Then he gave them a fuller account of the ambassador's answer. This is all I could have said of it, in letter to yourself of the last post, if I had had time. But by that time I could get a copy of that letter and answer

which they had brought, it was time to seal up my letters ; so that I could only send those copies to Mr. Morland, by whom, I hope, they came safe to your hand.

The senate, having considered the French ambassador's answer, wrote a letter to the French king concerning the arrest of their merchants' goods at Lyons, which letter they sent to the ambassador, praying him to send it to the king, his master ; but not trusting to him, they sent a copy of it to Monsieur Faesch, of Basil, who, about a month ago, went toward the French court with credentials and the title of deputy of the evangelical cantons ; but I do not yet hear that they have received any letter from him, signifying his reception. Sure I am, that they had received none when they sent him these letters from the court, bidding him first to go to the Duke of Longueville, and to shew his highness the copy of them, and to take his advice for the delivery of their letters to the king. I told them it was very likely that, ere he received their letters, the duke would be sent back into Normandy (because that country is somewhat unquiet), and then their deputy must make a journey thither.

The business of the French jewels and the arrest gave occasion to the senators to speak very earnestly, according to their several interests and inclinations, especially *two* Werdmuellers, one a colonel, who, having been but a captain in France, was one of the

Zurichers that brought away the greatest part of the jewels out of France ; the other is he who, having long served the Swedes and Venetians in Dalmatia, was, about two years ago, chosen senator, and a little after general in that short war against the popish cantons. These two men hated one another so far that, openly in the senate, the colonel accused the general of atheism ; of nearer correspondence with the French ambassador than the senator's oath permits ; and of perfidious collusion with the enemy at Rapperswill and elsewhere, anno 1655.

These accusations seemed too great, and too openly spoken, to be hushed up by friends ; and therefore, yesterday, December 9-19, was appointed for a meeting of the two hundred, before whom this controversy should be pleaded.

But the general (seeing that the confirmation or change of senators was to be December 12) did not like to have so great a business shuffled up so hastily. Therefore, December 8-18, in the afternoon, riding abroad with the Venetian resident, as he had done very often before, he took his leave of the resident, and we know not as yet whither. The next morning, early, the resident went to one of the consuls, and to the chiefest of the ministers of Zurich, telling him, that the general was gone out of the limits of their jurisdiction, with no intent to

return till he had assurance of a fairer hearing, but the two hundred being met, might, if they pleased, read his letter which he had written to them before he went, and left at his house for them.

I have not yet heard what the senate decreed concerning him. But many fear that he will study mischief and revenge as much as he can, if they decree anything to the diminution of his honour or estate, or to the disturbance of his wife and family, whom he hath thus suddenly left behind him, having taken nobody with him but a Dalmatian youth, whom he had caused to be instructed in the language and catechism of Zurich, and to be baptized at Zurich the last Easter.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

December 10-20, 1657.

SIR,—I hope my last week's long letter is come to your hand. In it I expressed a fear of losing one hundred and ninety pounds. Now I am almost in hope to receive it in a day or two, being assured that my bill of exchange escaped the arrest at Lyons. But, by the adjoined from Geneva, you will perceive that there arise new dangers of reprisals, and such like stops of com-

merce, which may make me unwilling to give order that my next money should be sent hither through France.

In the same long letter, I seemed, perhaps, too solicitous concerning the printing of your account. But you cannot forget how much Monsieur D . . . , this time two years, dissuaded us from going into Piedmont so far as Grenoble. I then thought that he feared greater inconveniences than he was willing to express. That some merchants in France may be hurt by your printed account, seems plainly intimated by the four last lines of page 4, of *La Verité manifestée pour Jacques Tronchin*; where he saith:—“ *Benedetti et Turretini sont pleins de vengeance et d’envie à cause des commissions des deniers de * * * pour faire remise à * * * qui leurs ont été ôtées pour les bailler au defendeur, &c.*” They that know the men there named cannot doubt but that the asterisks stand instead of *Grande Bretagne* and *Grenoble*. To me it seems more than probable, that those words were left out in the printing of that manifesto, lest it might do him as much harm another way as it would do him good in the question in hand. You will see the same caution observed in the last line of page 4 of the piece of nineteen pages, beginning thus:—“ *Pour Sr. Jacques Tronchin contre les violentes, &c.*” But all this wariness of theirs will little help, if those blanks may be supplied out of our English prints.

If I wrote to any other than yourself, I should not dare to express so much anxious care of the manner of publishing that account, for fear that it might raise suspicion that, in this business, I were guilty of some deed of darkness which feared the light ; but you (and no man but you) know, that of all that money I did never see or touch so much as one piece, although some acquittances have not only your name subscribed, but also the name of

Your faithful servant.

The post brought no English letters.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, December 17-27.

OUR two hundred, or common-council, being met, December 9-19, in expectation of the great debate between the two Werdmullers, notice was given to them, that the general was gone away the day before. The senate seemed much displeased ; yet his letter to them and his wife's petition were read ; and it was decreed, that he should be cited to appear before them personally upon the 28th of this December, not out of any consideration of the holidays, or that it would be Innocents' day ; but he went from Zurich upon December 8, and they conceived twenty days a sufficient favourable space of

time to be presented for his return. They also gave order that no advantage should be taken of his absence in the meantime, and therefore no new senator should be put into his place upon the usual day of change or confirmation, December 12. But a few days after, they understood that he had been with the French ambassador at Soloturn ; wherefore, by the senators' appointment, two men (his lieutenant-general in the last war and the principal secretary of state) went from Zurich, December 15-25, towards Soloturn, to the French ambassador, that they might give him true information concerning the crimes laid to his charge. They will hardly be at Zurich again before to-morrow night. In the meantime, it is believed that General Werdmuller is posted away to Paris, to fill that court with the like impressions ; as, that a good affection to France is now a capital crime in Zurich ; and that he cannot live safely there, since they forced him to shew his majesty's letters, containing a promise to make him a colonel of the Tigurines as soon as the league shall be renewed. We fear he will be an occasion of much mischief and trouble to his country.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Dec. 17-27, 1657.

SIR,—The great rains in France make the English letters spend one week more in their journey hither than they are wont in summer. The last post, I received yours of November 19-29. In which I perceived that your account was under the press, and would, perhaps, be published before mine of December 3 could come to your hands. So that you will there find a great deal of caution to little purpose, because it comes too late.

You say, you have no news at all stirring at Whitehall. But here men receive English news from several corners; that Lord Lambert hath seized Hull;* that the Duke of Buckingham is returned to King Charles; that Lord Fairfax is arrested, &c.

To all which I may oppose your words, “I do not believe all that men report.” I was glad to read in yours that all our great friends at Whitehall are in good health. Almighty God continue it. I am, Sir, their and your faithful servant.

* Cromwell himself became suspicious of Lambert after the period of his own inauguration, and many reports were raised about him. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the news here given was incorrect.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Dec. 17, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have been so exceeding busy all this week in surprising priests and Jesuits, that I could not write by the last post, no more than by this, to any purpose, for which I humbly beg your pardon. We have no news at all here, more than ordinary, except that Sir J. Reynolds,* with some others, were miserably cast away some days since as they were coming from Mardyke to England, which has caused much sadness here. We have taken eight Jesuits and priests, and hope to take many more; there are, to my knowledge, above five hundred in London. His highness, blessed be God, is in health, with Mr. Secretary and General Montagu, who is in the country as yet. Your lady has not yet received her moneys; as soon as she has, I shall see Mr. Meadows satisfied. By the next, I shall send your Latin piece you desire; in the meantime, remain, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

Mr. Downing, that was with us at Geneva, is going just now for the Hague to be resident there.

* Sir John Reynolds had served in the wars in Ireland, and was sent with the six thousand English soldiers whom Cromwell furnished as auxiliaries to the French in Flanders. He was appointed governor of Mardyke shortly before the fatal accident here mentioned.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, December 24, old style.

WE heard that General Werdmuller passed through Soloturn to Biel, from whence we thought he would have gone the shortest way to Paris ; but the last general post brought us letters assuring us that he was come to Versoy, a town upon the lake of Geneva, belonging to the French and distant from Geneva about five English miles. Men have several conjectures concerning the reason of his going that way. Some think he will there try whether he can get Geneva to intercede for him, because he was admitted a citizen there above twenty years ago. Others think he conceived it necessary to pass through Lyons, and that, therefore, he turned so far to his left hand. Some say, he had reason to go thither, and so to La Cluse, a fort twenty miles from Geneva, in the way to Lyons ; because there he might learn some particulars for recrimination against the other Werdmuller, his professed enemy, who, in his return out of France, with other cashiered soldiers, was stopped and detained there, about six or seven years ago. This seems the more likely conjecture, because the senate of Zurich received a very long letter from Soloturn, wherein the French ambassador doth not only write earnestly in favour of General Werdmuller, but also demandeth satisfaction for the disorders which the

other Werdmuller and his comrades committed in their return from France. Of which, he saith, he made no mention all this while, because he hoped that time would bring them to be better affected to France; but seeing that their humour grows more and more malignant, and that their ill will increaseth, he hath no reason to spare them any longer, but to exact full satisfaction for their violent rapines and inexcusable disorders. He complained also of a libel, written, as he saith, at Zurich. But the senate of Zurich profess ignorance, and have prayed his excellence to name the author of it that he may be punished. It is not yet known what answer the ambassador gave to our deputies which went hence to him nine days ago. Men suspect that it is not very pleasing because it is kept so secret.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 3-13th December, in answer whereunto I say,

1. To print what England gave, will rather lessen than increase the great noise of their growing rich, because the court of Savoy has always given out that they had three or four times as much sent them as they ever received effectively, and so did the pamphlet which was printed not long since at Paris, so that it were better the world were informed

of the truth. Besides, I know not but that it may serve as a terror to their enemies to see how they are beloved by considerable states ; and if the sums be great which are already given, those which are behind, which are almost as great, may produce great effects to the disadvantage to them that shall attempt to wrong them, which may possibly be hinted at in obscure terms.

2. The account is so framed that it discovers no names at all, but blanks are put for them, yea, and all other traces of the conveyance of the money are quite concealed as much as possible.

3. This is necessary to be printed before there can be any hopes of ever getting anything for their poor brethren of the Bohemian and Polonian churches, who have been lately persecuted in a very barbarous manner.

4. The people of England are extremely discontented and jealous that the Piedmont money was never sent them (and that more than you can imagine), and the committee's credit will not serve.

I am extremely sorry that you have had so much trouble about the return of moneys, and wish I might have been serviceable to you in it.

Mr. Downing is now gone for the Hague, there to be resident for the accommodation of the affairs of Sweden, Denmark, Polonia, &c.

Some authentic letters say, there is much hopes of accommodation between Sweden and Denmark.

Mardyke will now hardly be attempted by the Spaniard, being too well fortified.

The royalists are certainly conspiring to involve us all in blood, and have their businesses very ripe ; but I trust God Almighty will blow up their designs.

So soon as your lady gets her money, I shall satisfy Mr. Meadows, who is now in Denmark, but has left his order about it.

I have lately procured of the committee of Piedmont, as rewards for their service of that place,

Pour M. D'Ise	£80 sterling.
M. Leger des Vallées	40 “
M. Leger de Genève	40 “
Colladon	40 “
	200

I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, December 31, old style.

Our deputies have given an account to the two hundred concerning their journey to Soloturn. They spoke but once with the French ambassador there. He would not be persuaded that General Werdmuller was molested for any other cause than for his good affection for France, and that all other

accusations were but pretences to cover the true ground of their hate. As for the libel, he said he knew not the author; but he was sure he was a Tigurine, and that the magistrates of Zurich might find him out, if they would go about it in good earnest. After the deputies were gone from the ambassador to their lodging, he sent them an unsealed memorial, which he would have them deliver to the senate of Zurich. They read it over, and found it was very peremptorily required, that in three weeks' time they should make an end of the business of General Werdmuller, of the jewels, and of the league, &c. Wherefore they sent it back to his excellency, saying, they durst not carry any such message to their principals. He then sent them a sealed letter for their senate. That was read in the hearing of the two hundred, who thought it retained much of the imperious style which the deputies had disliked in his memorial. Wherefore order was given to the chief secretary of state to draw up such an answer as he conceived fit for them to write back to the ambassador, that it might be considered by the two hundred at their next meeting.

General Werdmuller's twenty days being expired, and he not appearing, a second citation was decreed. They had information, by letters from Geneva, that he still continued in Versoy, and went no further into France. Perhaps this moved the

two hundred to favour him a little, and to extend this second citation to twenty-eight days ; so that, if he be not at Zurich by the 25th of January next, his friends must endeavour that he may not be presently outlawed, but that he may have the favour of a third summons, which must be the last.

A letter from Monsieur Faesch was also read, wherein he told them what manner of reception he found at the French court: that the Count of Brienne spoke roughly, the king and cardinal favourably, but the Duke of Longueville very courteously, as also the new Count of Soissons, who is lately made colonel of all the Swisses which are, or shall be, in the service of France. When our deputy complained how coarsely the chief secretary had entertained him, the Count of Soissons answered, “ No other language is to be expected from Monsieur de Brienne to those that speak of his kinsman at Soloturn.” The senate voted that letters of thanks should be written to the Count of Soissons, with gratulation for his title of colonel.

A letter from Lucerne gave notice, that they and the other popish cantons were not yet agreed in the business of Colonel Tsweyer, and in some other controversies, so that they could not meet the protestant cantons at Baden in January next, as was desired. Whereupon the senate of Zurich resolved to give notice hereof to the three other protestant

cities, and to adjoin their reasons why they conceived it necessary there should be a meeting of deputies from the protestant cantons at Arraw, as soon as may be.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

December 31, 1657, old style.

SIR,—In the last week's packet I hoped to find three of yours, with the dates of November 26 and December 3 and 10. But when it was opened, I saw only one from yourself, dated November 26, which was accompanied with two from Mr. Hartlib, and two Polit. Mercuries, of November 26 and December 10, but no letter or Mercury of December 3. It was reported at Paris that the Spaniards had met the packet-boat, and taken away the English letters designed for Calais. I therefore desire to know whether you sent me any letters that week, and whether yours had any instructions or intelligence of consequence in them ; if not, my loss is the less. Nor will the statesmen of Dunkirk, Neuport, or Ostend, be much the wiser.

Heidelberg letters tell us, that the Princess Louise is escaped in disguise out of the Hague from her mother, the Queen of Bohemia, and is gotten into a nunnery, I know not where ; not for love of popery,

perhaps, but for fear that she should never have a suitor great enough to make a husband.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1657, old style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of December 10-20, with the enclosed, and hope you will shortly receive (if it be not already come to your hands) my answer to your long letter, wherein I hope I shall partly give you satisfaction as to the printing of the narrative. I am glad your fear of losing one hundred and ninety pounds is over. Mr. Secretary Thurloe has been very ill, and kept his bed these two days and upwards; his distemper is something like a fever; but, blessed be God, he begins to be something better to-day. We have no news stirring but what you have in the enclosed print. We have lately taken in hold some suspicious men in the city,* which were assembled on Christmas-day, pretending to devotion, but intending really to undermine the present government. I trust God will always prevent them, though they

* This was the episcopal congregation in the Strand, who worshipped publicly, with little interruption, during the whole period of the protectorate. Dr. Gunning was their preacher.

much threaten that they will do strange things very suddenly. The parliament will sit shortly, and then we shall have more news. In the meantime, I rest, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

January 7-17, 1657-8.

SIR,—The last post brought me nothing but a letter from J. Tronchin, dated *à Paris, ce 1 Janvier, 1658*, and beginning thus:—“*L'ordinaire d'Angleterre n'est encore arrivé.*” But a merchant of Lyons wrote hither, that Sir D. Reynolds, returning from Mardyke towards England, was drowned in the sea, with twenty-five other English gentlemen.

Here is one that will have Cardinal Mazarin die, because the numeral letters of CarDInaLI's MazarInUs make up 1658.

Yesterday, I received the last parcel of that money which was left in Mr. Noel's hands fifteen weeks before.

To-morrow, it will be *just a hundred years* since the articles of Calais were subscribed by the Duke of Guise and the English governor ;* and the next day,

* In the reign of Queen Mary. The retention of Calais by the French, contrary to their agreement by treaty, had been more or less a matter of dispute between England and France ever since.

January 9, all the English marched out, and the French entered.

The adjoined, *from Milan*, will tell you how glad they were to hear that the King of Spain had a son, and what a *Rabat-joye* the Dukes of Modena and Mantua sent them.

Ere this can come to your hands, I believe the parliament will be sitting, and then you will hardly find time to read long letters. You shall therefore be no longer detained by,

Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

January 14-24, 1657-8.

SIR,—Yours of December 17th tells me of a great number of priests and Jesuits in London, and of an intention to shut up as many of them as can be taken. I have an imagination that many such do lie hid under the names of Quakers, Seekers, &c., venting all manner of extravagant opinions among the ignorant and simple, that so they may have occasion elsewhere to cry out against the confusions and disorders now in England; because, as they say, we are like sheep straying, or running headlong into inevitable perdition, being out of the catholic church, and despising the voice of the

arch-shepherd of Rome. If the Quakers, &c., were all examined, I believe many of them would be found such as had been brought up in Flanders, till they were thought sufficiently instructed in the art of amusing, perverting, seducing, &c.

The same letter assured me that our great friends at Whitehall are in good health. Almighty God continue it.

I heartily wish Mr. G. Downing a good issue of his negotiation in Holland; but if it prove not altogether so successful as he desires, it will be no great wonder to

Your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

January 21-31, 1657-8.

SIR,—Yours of December 24th answers mine of December 3-13th, and lets me see the reasons why that Piedmont account must be published; as also assures me that it is so contrived that your instruments for the conveyance of it shall not be discovered by it. I wish, also, that my fears for the people themselves may prove vain, which time alone will shew. I marvel that the people of England should be so jealous that their money was not sent; I shall not easily believe that the most

charitable are the most suspicious, but they make the greatest stir, and call loudest for an account, who gave least, or perhaps nothing.

I long to hear more concerning the discovery and defeating of the new conspirators.

The last letters from Paris say thus :—

La Princesse Louyse, fille du Roy de Boheme, a quitté La Haye et la maison de la Reyne mere, dans l'espérance que le Prince Edouard son frere, qui est a cette cour, la fera entrer dans les Religieuses de Chaillot, de l'ordre de St. Marie, pour estre instruite à la religion catholique pour lui procurer une abbaye.

The snow hinders the Italian news from coming over the Alps hither. With your last, came letters from Mr. Dury to the divines here. I pray you send him those enclosed answers by the first opportunity. I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Jan. 28, 1657-8, old style.

SIR,—The ways near this country are everywhere so filled with snow that the posts can hardly find passage, so that now no letters come hither at the usual time, yet you will find some Italian* in the next leaf.

* “Concerning the Turk, Venice, the Duke of Mantua, &c.”
—*Pell's note.*

I have also a copy of Gastaldo's orders, December 14th and 20th, and the valleys' petition of December 28th ; but I thought not fit to send them to you, because I believed you had them already from Geneva.

I have received yours of December 31st, in answer to mine of December 10th. I long to see your next, with assurance of Mr. Secretary's recovery ; in the meantime,

I rest, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

February 4-14, 1657-8.

SIR,—Besides the adjoined Italian news from Milan, some write, that the Prince of Spain is baptized. His elder brother, born 1630, had but *six* names :—Balthasar Carolus Dominicus Philippus Victor Lucas.

The late emperor's son, who now seeks to be emperor, hath also but *six* names :—Leopoldus Ignatius Franciscus Balthasar Josephus Felicianus.

But this second son of Spain hath *fifteen* names. He is called :—Philippus Prosper Josephus Franciscus Ignatius Antonius Michael Ludovicus Isidorus Alphonsus Bonaventura Dominicus Raimundus Jacobus Victor.

It is hoped that his next sister shall be called Barbara Celarent Darii, &c. Bocardo Ferison.*

The last post brought me no letter from yourself, but one from Mr. Hartlib, dated January 7th. I believed you were extraordinarily busy, and I feared that Mr. Secretary was not yet recovered, of which fear I shall hope to be eased by your next ; in the meantime,

I rest, Sir, your faithful servant.

I pray you let these with Latin inscriptions† be delivered to Mr. Dury with care.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

February 11-21, 1657-8.

SIR,—These two last posts have brought me no letter from yourself. The last week, no letter at all out of England came to the hands of your faithful servant.

P. Sarotti, subscribed in the enclosed Italian paper, is resident for Venice at Zurich.

* An allusion to certain technical verses used to preserve in the memory the different forms of syllogisms, which may be found in most old treatises on logic.

† Dr. Johanni Duræo.

Dr. Johanni Rodolpho Sutero.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

February 11th, 1657.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of the 14-24th January. The last week, his highness broke up the parliament, because they, instead of settling the nation, were endeavouring, a great part of them, to unhinge all things, and to bring us into blood and confusion.* This morning, his highness took away the commissions from Major Packer† and divers of his officers (namely, four captains and others), for having had a finger in the plot, and endeavouring to make confusion in the army, and to corrupt it. I trust the Lord in a short time will provide for us, and find a way for our speedy establishment. We have no other news at present, but that this is a very busy time at Whitehall. If I can get a copy of his highness's speech to parliament the last time, I shall send it to you by the next. In the meantime, I am, sincerely, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

* The parliament was dissolved on the 4th of February.

† Packer was major in Cromwell's own regiment of horse; he, with Gladman, another officer in the same regiment, was arrested and committed to the Tower. Both had been present with the officers of the army at the banqueting-house, when, just after the dissolution of the parliament, Cromwell addressed them, and they all professed themselves determined to live and die with him. But Cromwell could not bring Packer and Gladman to pledge themselves on that occasion in more than very general terms.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Feb. 18-28, 1657-8.

SIR,—Five days ago, I received yours of January 21st, enclosing three from Mr. Hartlib, and one from Mr. Dury. One of those from Mr. Hartlib, from its date, and by the enclosed Mercury, shewed itself to be written December 3rd, and therefore seven weeks old before your man delivered it to you. It was the letter which (as I wrote December 31st) I feared was intercepted by the Spaniards in the packet boat; but it seems it was safe and warm in your man's pocket. If you expressed much displeasure for that forgetfulness, it may make him another time burn my letters when he hath forgotten them, rather than anger you again with the like conduct.

Three days ago, Major Wyss came to me; he inquired of your health, and expressed a great deal of good will with friendly remembrance of your first acquaintance in Piedmont, almost three years ago. He hath business here with the Venetian resident for money due to some of Berne, since their last expedition into Dalmatia. He told me he would see me again before he left this town.

The Italian news from Casal speak of a marriage proposed between the young Duke of Savoy, and the English widow, Princess of Orange.

Sir, I am, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Feb. 25, 1657-8., old style.

SIR, — The last Geneva post brought hither letters from Lyons, without any from Paris. They say, the great thaw and rains had so overflown the ways between Paris and Lyons, that the ordinary of Paris could not get to Lyons before the letter carrier was gone towards Geneva. I hope the next will bring me English letters of January 28th and February 4th. But hardly those of February 11th, unless the floods in France be suddenly abated. In summer, London letters get hither ordinarily in sixteen days.

In my last, I made mention of Monsieur Wyss; he had served the Venetians heretofore in Dalmatia, and they are yet in his debt for part of the time. It is not yet known whether that senate will choose him for colonel of the 1200 men which are to go into Dalmatia this spring; or whether they will rather take the other colonel of Berne, who is a little older than Monsieur Wyss.

Mr. Leger hath sent hither fresh complaints from his countrymen at S. Giovanni. I believe he hath written the like to yourself; and therefore you shall not now be troubled with a repetition from

Your faithful servant.

MR. GEORGE DOWNING TO MR. PELL.

Hague, March 1, 1658.

SIR,—The happiness which I had of your good acquaintance at Geneva makes me desirous of a renewal thereof by a mutual correspondence; but especially considering how much it may import in relation to his highness's service, being here at this time in the quality of resident. I doubt not but your own letters from England have given you an account of passages there. The King of Sweden is master of the whole island of Fueren, and, as the last letters say, hath taken the vice-admiral of Denmark's ship of eighty pieces of brass ordnance, together with six hundred seamen; and that he hath also taken the islands of Langland and Sprow, which, I assure you, puts these parts to no small thoughts, considering how much they are concerned in the trade of the Sound.

The French ambassador and myself are endeavouring our utmost here, in relation to the composition of affairs. I shall trouble you no further at present, but, with this proffer of a mutual intercourse of letters, I remain, your very affectionate, ready servant,

G. DOWNING.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 4-14, 1657-8.

SIR,—The Venetian resident is out of town, so that we cannot compare his intelligence with other Italian letters brought hither yesterday from Bergamo, which say, that the French under Modena, have besieged Mantua, and are likely to be masters of the city in a short time ; and that then they may overrun all the country about Cremona uncontrolled.

In the next leaf, you will see what monstrous tales are scattered from Paris into all quarters concerning his highness.

I hoped, the last week, to hear of the proceedings in parliament ; but the post brought me nothing from England of later date than January 28th. In them I gladly read, that Mr. Secretary began to go abroad again after his long indisposition ; to whom I pray you present the humble service, &c., of

Your faithful servant.

Milano, 3-13 Marzo, 1657-8.—Rimanendo in questo mentse nell apertura del nuovo parlamento di Londra sempre più adombrato esso Cromuell, che risvegliandosi i dormienti spiriti di malcontenti, possino originare nella Plebe di mali humori contro di lui, oltre le diligenze, che si praticavano in ogni parte del Inghilterra, ma particolarmente in Londra, é citta maritime, si facevano anche visitare da grosse truppe de soldati tutte le case ad una ad una, sospettandosi, che vi si siano nascostamente rifugiati quelli, che volessero impugnare s'armi contro di lui medesimo a favore del Rè Carlo, é trovandovesene qualch' uno,

venivano con ogni strapazzo e rigore fatti prigionieri, pensandosi de poter in tal maniera recidere l'origine della minacciate turbolenze, e lo stesso si facera nelle Case di campagna, mettendosi in arresto quelli, che sono accusati poter essere del partito Regio, con obligarsi in auvantaggio con grosse sigurtà quelli, che rimangono fuori di sospetto, di mantenersi tali, et di consegnarsi à render conto delle loro attioni, sempre che ne saranno ricercati. Questo modo di procedere havea fatta rallentare, é differire la raddunanza del detto nuovo parlamento, per venire poi alla Coronatione del Cromuel, ò del Figliuolo, il quale in tanto era stato eletto da lui per uno de suoi Consiglieri di stato privato.

De Paris, le 19 Fevrier, 1657-8.—On parle que le Protecteur pour mieux s'assurer de la couronne d'Angleterre, à laquelle il aspire, a envoyé des evesques hivernois à Rome pour sonder la volonté du pape, sçavoir si sa santité trouveroit bon de luy conferer l'investiture de ce royaume là (qui a esté mis autrefois en interdit par le Pape Leon 10^{me} sous le Regne de Henry 8^{me} et attribué au pr. conquerant) au quel cas il s'offre se soumettre à payer le tribut promis au St. Siege par Jean Sans-terre et d'accorder la liberté de conscience. On ne doute pas que cette nouvelle ne fut bien receue, s'il promettoit outre cela de se faire catholique.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, March 4, 1657-8.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I received both yours the day before yesterday, the one bearing the date 4th-14th February, and the other 11th-21st February, with the enclosed, which were immediately delivered according as they were directed. The reason why you have not mine so constantly of late

has been partly the winter weather, and partly Mr. Secretary's illness, which, blessed be God, is now quite over, and he has been well and abroad almost a week ago. The truth is, many times when I set down to write, and think to do it distinctly, I am called off, and altogether disappointed. All the talk of late has been concerning the King of Sweden's late success, but that you have better from other ways. All that I have to send you from hence new is, the enclosed proclamation.* We have received lately very sad complaints from the valleys; but how they will be relieved, God alone knows. Affairs are much troubled here since the breaking of the parliament; some discourse of calling a new parliament, but it is impossible for me to divine what will come to pass. I can assure you of nothing, but that I am, right honourable, your honour's most humble servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 11-21, 1657-8.

SIR,—The last week, I received a letter from Mr. Leger of Geneva, complaining that his countrymen

* The purport of this proclamation, which was published toward the end of February, was to command all royalists and catholics not to depart more than five miles from their place of fixed abode.

iterum in præsentissimum periculum conjiciuntur; and praying me to write for them to his highness, *ut, si fieri possit, intercessione sua illorum excidium antevertat ac avertat.* No doubt, many of the Piedmont papists do long to see such another April as they had in 1655. His letter had two papers enclosed; of the lesser, I have sent you a copy herewith. I have advised him to send you copies of them both, if he have not done it already. You do so well know their condition, and the malice of their bad neighbours, that after you have read those papers, you will not need any of my heat to incite you, or of my light to direct you, in your solicitations for them. The good effects whereof, I shall be glad to hear, as being their unfeigned well-willer, and,

Sir, your faithful servant.

I have not seen any letter out of England of later date than February 4th.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 18-28, 1657-8.

SIR,—Yours of February 11th tells me that it is a very busy time at Whitehall. You had not leisure to write at large concerning the late alterations. In the adjoined, you will see what they print in Italy concerning the present state of affairs

in England. Yours professeth hopes of a way for our speedy establishment, of which I long to hear.

Your Piedmont acquaintance, Monsieur Wyss, is, by the Venetian senate, chosen for the colonel of the new Berne regiment, which is shortly to be sent hence. Lerber, his rival, had just as many voices at Berne as Wyss ; but had never seen the Turks or Dalmatia, where Colonel Wyss had served the Venetians before.

From Berne, one writes thus:—"Monsieur le Colonel Lerber est fort altéré de n'avoir peu obtenir la charge de colonel (en Dalmatie.) Il pressera à present vivement le renouvellement de l'alliance François, avec plusieurs autres."

Of Piedmont, I have nothing this week, but that the pope hath sent a nuncio to Pinarolo, to the Princess of Baden (daughter to Prince Thomaso), with an apostolical breve, commanding her to leave her mother (the widow), and to go into Germany with the marck-grave, her husband. *Fu il nuncio nella valle di Luserna a visitare quella missioni, la maggior parte rouinate delli Heretici.*

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 18-20th March, 1658.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received, though late, yours of the 28th February, old style. I have

received, also, Mr. Leger's complaints, and communicated them; but much fear there can be nothing done but what has been already done, which, I doubt, has but little effect; I mean, solicitations in the French court. Our accounts are printed in this method; 1. there is a preamble in his highness's and the council's name. 2. The treasurer's accounts, wherein are set down the name of every parish that gave, and the sum. 3. My accounts, namely, what has been contributed amongst the poor people, wherein are set down the acquittances, but without any name; indeed, I have avoided all individual circumstances, or anything else which might give the least light to those who would take advantage. 4. An exhortation of mine to those who gave nothing to begin now, where I give an account of their present necessities. The printing this account was absolutely necessary for the making a new collection for those of Bohemia. The account is twenty-three or twenty-four sheets, and in folio, or else I would send it you, if you desire it. I shall send it at several times.

We have no news, but that the King of Scots would fain be doing; he has an army, such as it is, ready to be shipped at Ostend, and so to come to England, and stays but for a good wind, but I trust they will be received here according to their merit.

Right honourable, your most humble and faithful
servant,

S. MORLAND.

All the world rings of the Swede's victory over the Dane, and the advantageous peace he has made with him.

MR. PELL TO MR. GEORGE DOWNING.

March 20-30, 1658.

SIR,—Yours, dated March 1st, offers me a correspondence by an ordinary intercourse of letters ; but tells me no way of safely conveying mine to you. I do not see any great likelihood that there will be occasion that either of us should write weekly, yet it is fit that, while we are abroad in such employment, we should have a certain and ready way of writing to one another as often as our master's service shall require it. I say, a certain way, for otherwise, the places of our residence being so far asunder, a letter may sometimes lose its way and fall into hands for which it was not intended. Our superscriptions may easily tempt some man to open our letters that he may see what secrets are written to us. To prevent such curiosity, it will be good to send them under some merchant's cover. I know not how yours came hither, but if you have no better way, your next to me may be first sent to Amsterdam to the merchant from whom you receive this. He can send your letters hither under a cover superscribed to his father, a

merchant of this city, that so they may certainly come to the hands of, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

JOHN PELL.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

March 25, 1658, old style.

SIR,—Yours of the 4th of March assures me that Mr. Secretary is recovered, and goes abroad again in good health, which I pray God to continue. I have received a letter from the Hague, from Mr. Downing, and have answered it. From Piedmont we have heavy complaints of their flight with their wives and children in an extraordinary deep snow. They who wrote the adjoined, from Verona and Frankford, are so well known to me that I could add their names if I thought it necessary or useful to you.

The last posts have brought fuller confirmation of the news of the peace concluded between the kings of Sweden and Denmark; but the several copies of the articles are very different. Perhaps no true copy hath yet been published, and there may be some secret articles which shall never come into common hands.

I long to hear what course is now steered at

Whitehall; for the world hereabouts is very full of horrid fables concerning England.

I pray you let this enclosed be sent to Mr. Dury.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 1-11, 1658.

SIR,—I thank you for sending me Mr. Hartlib's letter of March 11-21, though yourself had not then leisure to write. I pray you convey these enclosed to him and to Mr. Dury.

Besides the adjoined news in French and Italian, we had this in High Dutch. From Frankford, March 20-30.

The Electors of Bavaria, Mentz, and Trier, are here. The Elector of Saxony will be here on Monday, March 22. Brandenburg will not come, but will send his ambassador, Grave Maurits von Nassau, who was governor for the Dutch West India Company in Brazil, and is now governor of Cleve for the said elector. The French and Spanish ambassadors do not visit one another, but they drink one another's healths openly at their tables. We hear that the King of Denmark subscribed the articles of the Swedish-Danish treaty with tears in his eyes. And that the King of Sweden, as soon as his army is

ready to march, intends to hasten into Silesia. The King of France is expected at Metz with twenty thousand men, within a fortnight. Here we say, that the French, the Swedes, and the Turks, will declare war against the house of Austria, all at one time. And, at the same time, the Elector of Heidelberg will send General Balthasar against the Elector of Bavaria.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 8-18, 1658.

SIR,—Yours of 18-28th March offers to send me, at several times, the new book of Piedmont accounts, &c.; it would be very tedious to be twenty-four weeks in reading it, receiving every week a sheet; in six months, it may be, some opportunity will be offered for the sending it to me all at once; in the meantime, I will content myself with the description of it, which I find in your letter. The weekly news printed at Milan these two weeks last past make large mention of England, the Protector, the parliament, Lambert, &c.; I shall not trouble you with any of it, being all prodigious lies. I will rather conclude with a certain truth, that

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 15 25, 1658.

SIR,—In your packet of March 25th, I found none from yourself; I hope it was business, and not sickness, that hindered you from writing. An incredible number all over this country have had short sicknesses with colds, coughs, &c., this winter and spring. I hoped to escape all, but on Good Friday they here use to have a sermon more early than any other day in the year; I went to hear it, and, I think, caught cold then, for the next day I was very hoarse, which, with tooth-ache, &c., have kept me in ever since, nor do I think fit to go abroad to-day to see the soldiers that are marching hence towards Venice. I have not seen Secretary Schmid this fortnight (I mean him with whom you spake at Geneva.) He buries his wife to-day. She was sister to treasurer Holtshalb, who was with us at Geneva in December, 1655, and died just a twelvemonth after; she hath outlived her brother hardly sixteen months. Some others of my acquaintance here are sick, so that I have hardly seen anybody this week; but letters tell me that the Elector of Frankfort had had four sessions all kept very secret. In the first, the vicarship was considered, to see whether the controversy between Bavaria and Heidelberg can be composed; for neither of them will think fit to appear at Frank-

fort till that be decided. In the second session, they came nearer to their business. The Elector of Saxony would have despatched the election of an emperor before other affairs. Mentz said, it were better, *pro securitate imperii*, to begin with the French and Swedish memorials. What was done there since is unknown to

Your faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, April 16-26, 1658.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have been so exceedingly full of business of late that I have been forced to fail your honour in my correspondence. The news we have here at present is, for the most part, about the bringing in and examining prisoners about the late plot which I have formerly mentioned.* In sum, their designs, by the good hand of provi-

* The design of this plot, which was very extensive and deeply laid, was to raise an insurrection in England, and bring an army from Flanders raised by the Spaniards, and at the head of which was Charles Stuart, at the moment when Cromwell was expected to be in the greatest difficulty. Great pains had been taken also to corrupt Cromwell's army; but the Protector had his eye upon the conspirators, and he blocked up the coast from which the foreign troops were to come with his fleet, while he was seizing upon the chief conspirators at home, and committing them to the Tower.

dence, broke in a thousand pieces, and their spirits are quite down, both at home and beyond sea; they had all things prepared and shipped at Ostend, men and arms for England, but our ships kept them in till they were quite consumed; besides, all their contrivances are discovered here, and most of the chief contrivers in hold. Many speak as though we should yet have another parliament, but the Lord knows what he has ordained. I trust we are now in a way of settlement.

The news of the poor people's grievances and miseries is arrived here much sooner, I fear, than there will or can be remedy found for them. Mr. Secretary has been something ill of late, but now, I bless God, he is something better. I know there have gone strange tales and fables of the combustion of our affairs here, but they will find, I hope, that they are mistaken. This week, there are published his highness's and the council's order for a new collection for the Bohemian and Polonian protestants. I am, in haste, right honourable, your honour's most faithful and humble servant,

S. MORLAND.

I have received yours every week, though I have them not here, whereof I am forced to wait to answer them distinctly.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 22, 1658, old style.

SIR,—This last week's post brought no letters hither from England, for which we here blame the wind till we hear some other cause.

I have not yet been abroad since my indisposition, cold, &c. From Basil, they write that the Elector of Heidelberg intended to enter Frankfort, April 21st; so that men believe he is now there. The other electors desired to see him there, and therefore, in the first place, they removed the cause of his absence; for they have made a partition of the vicariat between him and the Bavarian, with which he of Heidelberg is contented. They also perceived that the Elector of Cologne would not be present, unless they would assure him that no other should crown the emperor; they have, therefore, pronounced that it is his right to do it, wherefore, it is said, that he will be at Frankfort speedily, and then, some think, an emperor will be soon elected and crowned.

The Portugals have these many years threatened to recall their ambassador from Rome, and to do all their ecclesiastical business without the pope henceforward. But now, men write out of Italy that, seeing the pope will not receive Don Francesco de Sosa as an ambassador from a king, but as sent from the Duke of Braganza, he hath dismissed

his household, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, and hath sold his coaches and horses, intending to return by sea into Portugal very shortly.

Sir, I am, your faithful servant.

I pray you let this enclosed be delivered to Mr. Dury.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

April 29, 1658, old style.

SIR,—Your last was March 18-28th, but I have, through your hands, received letters from others of two later dates, namely, March 25th and April 1-11th.

Besides that which I have here adjoined from Milan, we have from Naples, that in the island of Malta the knights and all their subjects live in excessive fear, by reason of an earthquake, which continues there day and night.

And from Turin, that, April 2-12th, one Giacimo Giacero of Premollo, a heretic, was arrested as he was going out of one of the gates of Pinarolo, driving eight horses heavily laden with lead, as it was found by the searchers; whereupon he was constrained to lead his horses to the commander's lodgings, and there leave his lead.

The Waldenses must not have materials to make bullets of.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 6-16, 1658.

SIR,—Yours of April 16-26th gives me but a short but pithy account of the principal news at Whitehall. To be in the right way of a settlement is a great matter, of which I shall hope to see a more particular explication from your pen at your better leisure.

In Bourne's French half-sheet, printed at London, called, *Nouvelles Ordinaires, Numero 240*, I find mention made of the printing of your account for the money of Piedmont, &c. I wish that the Baron de Greisy, or some Turin courtier, do not thence take occasion to do that poor people some great mischief.

Together with yours, I received a letter from Mr. Hartlib, dated April 15th, wherein he makes mention of his written April 8th, but that is not come to my hand. I have reason to think you never saw it, because Mr. Tronchin wrote thus to me:—“*Presentement je viens de recevoir une lettre de Monsieur Morland du 8-18 Avril, mais il n'y en a point pour vous.*”

I hope it is not lost, but rather that it is in your man's pocket, which so carefully kept that of December 3rd that it came not to my hands till

February 13th. If it be not mislaid among your papers, I shall hope to see it in time.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, May 6, 1658.

SIR,—The state of affairs being much altered in those parts, so that your longer abode there seemeth not so necessary, and that your return hither may be more serviceable to us, I have thought fit hereby to recall you; therefore you will do well, having taken your leave there in the best manner, to repair homewards, that we may receive from you the account of your whole negotiation, and you from us the encouragements which you have deserved.*

So I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.

By his highness's command.—JO. THURLOE.

* The tedious negotiations at Baden ended in a peace, which left the cantons in the same relation to each other and to Europe as before.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 13-23, 1658.

SIR, — The last week's post brought me no English letters. From Geneva, one wrote thus:—
“*Nous sortons des promotions ; ou Monsieur Leger, recteur, a pris pour subject de sa harangue : L'estat ancien et moderne des Eglises Vaudoises ; et a fort bien fait.*” I hope he will send you a copy of it.

One Pestalozza, a merchant of Zurich, hath a son at Amsterdam, who had an eighth part in a ship called the Peace, which was taken by the English, and delivered to General Penn, above three years ago. This Zuricher, with the rest of the sharers, have sued in England for the restoring of this ship, &c. They obtained letters from the states (general, I think,) to his highness for them in September last, and the ambassador, Nieuport, was commanded to speak to his highness for them ; which, it seems, he did ; but no effect following, they obtained new letters, dated April 7, 1658, whereof they have sent a copy to me, of whose being here they knew nothing before Mr. Downing came to reside at the Hague. They have an imagination that my letters may do them good at Whitehall. I have promised this Pestalozza to write ; but I told him that I saw no reason to hope that a letter of mine should promote such a business, which had reaped no advantage from the letters written by the states, and

from the solicitations of their ambassador. If those men's demand be not so unreasonable as that it be adjudged unfit to make them any restitution, I will hope that they shall speed never the worse for my writing in their behalf, but rather that, if their business fall in your way, you will be helpful to them, as remembering that they were once recommended by, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

May 27, 1658, old style.

SIR,—The last week, being much troubled with a catarrh, toothache, &c., I took the liberty to write but one line to you. The last post brought me yours of May 6, and in it three letters enclosed, one from his highness, one from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and one from Mr. Hartlib. None of them made any mention of letters to the cantons; and therefore I much wondered to find these words in your letters :—"The enclosed are from his highness to yourself and to the evangelical cantons." This uncertainty makes me unable to resolve when to begin my journey homeward. But if there were any such letter written at Whitehall, I suppose it was intended that it should be delivered before I go hence, and therefore I shall hope to receive it with your next. In the meantime,

I remain, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 3-13, 1658.

SIR,—Yours of May 6 makes mention of a letter concerning Piedmont. If his highness write to Turin, it is easy to foresee what kind of answer shall be returned. In the adjoined, you will see what that duke wrote very lately to the cantons. It was accompanied with a long letter of the president, Truchi, to the ambassadors which were sent from the four cantons to Turin in 1655; and with another from Monsieur Servient, the French ambassador, who continues still at Turin. I have copies of them both, but think it unnecessary to send them now, because you may have them already from Mr. Leger. If not, I hope I may safely bring them with me, and deliver them to you with my own hand at my return, which shall be when it pleaseth God. If I had received one letter more from Whitehall, I think I should soon resolve when to begin my journey. The last week's post brought no English letters to

Your faithful servant.

Some here have received letters that the King of Polonia is dangerously sick; others say, dead.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 10-20, 1658.

SIR,—I hope the next post will bring me two of yours, that is, of May 20 and May 27. The last brought only yours of May 13. None of yours do take any notice of my return, as if you did not know that I am recalled. I have in a manner resolved to go through France. I have some reason to reckon that the 15th of July will bring me to Dieppe, in Normandy. Mr. Secretary, in his letter of May 6-16, makes me hope that order shall be given, that I may find a ship there ready to receive me. I pray you, Sir, procure that I may pass unmolested, and not be forced to unpack all hordes and baggage to satisfy the curiosity of our English searchers. Because it is uncertain where I shall land, I desire that an order may be enclosed in a letter from yourself to me, which may be sent to the captain or master of the ship that shall be commanded to come to Dieppe for me, that I, having received it from him, may be armed against that inconvenience wheresoever I shall be landed in England. You will hereby very much oblige,

Sir, your faithful servant.

Henry Ulrich is now come hither. He hath been with me once.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 17-27, 1658.

SIR,—Your last was of May 20-30. It tells me of very pathetic letters from his highness to these parts. I long to see them. I have almost decreed to be going hence July 3-13, endeavouring to be at Dieppe July 23, old style ; where, if I find a ship, and such a letter as I desired of you last week, I shall hope that shortly after you may see,

Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

June 24, 1658, old style.

SIR,—The last post brought me yours of May 27. The enclosed (*Consulibus etc. Cantonum*) I delivered, though I had no copy of it. I hope it will come in yours of June 3 or 10 ; both which ought to be here by the next post. If they contain no stop, I intend to leave this town the same day.

My last week's letter told you, that I would endeavour to be at Dieppe July 23. But perhaps, when I come to Basil, some of the merchants there will say, as they do here, that it will be safer for me to go down the Rhine into Holland, than at this time to travel across France to the Norman shore. By the next post, I hope to write to you from Basil, and with more certainty. In the meantime,

I rest, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

SIR,—The last Saturday brought me yours of June 3, (as I guess, for it had no date.) It contained copies of his highness's letters to the King of France, to the cantons, and to the Lord Ambassador Lockhart. I have taken order at Zurich that yours of June 10 and 17 be sent to me here. If I had received them, I believe I should not tarry one day longer at Basil. In the meantime, I intend to provide for my journey down the Rhine into Holland; which way every one here prefers before the way through France, which I intended, till I was deterred by the following papers.

D'Orleans, Juin 24.—Il y a icy grand bruit à cause des Soulonnois. On a pillé sept bateaux remplis de sel; et on a fait garde pour conserver le reste; de quoy la populace s'est esmue d'avantage et ne croit pas qu'on puisse éviter le pillage du reste quelque garde que l'on puisse faire. Son Altesse qui estoit venu pour appaiser le desordre et pacifier tout, a reçu un paquet de la Cour, qui l'a obligé de sortir de cette ville mescontent de la dite Cour. On ne sçait encore le secret de ce souslevement.

Paris, Juin 25.—Le desordre des paisans de Soulogne continue et s'estend jusques à Orleans, ou ils pillierent la nuit de Vendredi au Samedi dernier un bateau de sel; et S. A. R. voyant ce desordre s'en alla à Blois.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE PROTECTOR'S
FUNERAL.*

Gardiner's Lane, near King's Street.

I do hereby request that the proportion of cloth allowed unto me by the right honourable council, as mourning for his late highness, the Lord Protector, may be delivered unto my neighbour, Mr. Samuel Hartlib, the younger. Written with mine own hand, September 25, 1658.

JOHN PELL.

Whitehall, at the Green Cloth, Sept. 27, 1658.

MR. CLERK COMPTROLLER,—I desire you to direct the delivering of nine yards of black cloth of twenty-four shillings per yard, and six yards of fifteen shillings per yard, for John Pell, Esq.

BARRINGTON.

JOHN PELL, ESQ.,—You are desired to attend the funeral of the most serene and most renowned OLIVER, late Lord Protector, from Somerset House, on Tuesday, the 23rd of November instant, at eight of the clock in the morning at the furthest, and to

* Cromwell died on the 3rd of September, just three weeks after Pell's arrival in England, which was on the 13th of August.

bring with you this ticket; and that, by Friday night next, you send to the Herald's Office, near Paul's, the names of your servants that are to attend in mourning, without which they are not to be admitted; and also to take notice that no coaches are to pass, on that day, in the streets between Somerset House and Westminster.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH* TO MR. PELL.

Wellingor,† June 26, 1641.

SIR,—I perceive our business of making the perspective glass proceeds not, and I know not well how to help it, unless there be some as good matter to make glass in some other place to be bought; for it seems that at Broad Street will not be had. I am not willing to trouble Sir Robert Mansfield about it, though I think he would not deny me. Therefore, if you or Mr. Reaves can find fitting matter for us somewhere else, you should do me a great favour. Broad Street, I suppose, will be the best place to make the glass, when ye have bought the stuff to make it of. I shall write to Mr. Reaves to give us his help herein. I must again thank you for your way of ordering equations,

* The eldest son of the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Newcastle. He was an able scholar in algebra and analysis. Many of his letters to Pell are preserved among the Birch papers in the British Museum.

† Wellingore, in Lincolnshire.

and do desire that you will proceed in your intended analytical work, as your occasions will give you leave. I desire to know if Mr. Warner's* analogical work go on or not. And so wishing you all happiness, I remain,

Your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

If you know an easy and ready way to measure the refraction in water, you should do me a favour to let me know it; for I confess I know none.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Wellington, Feb. 5, 1641.

WORTHY SIR,—I thank you for your letter, and the transcript of Mersennus's† problem; if he hath read Mr. Briggs or Mr. Oughtred,‡ I wonder he

* Walter Warner, a distinguished English mathematician, of the beginning of the seventeenth century. He published the works of his friend Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia. Both were patronised by the Duke of Northumberland.

† Marin Mersenne, whom Sir Charles calls in one or two instances, Father Mersen, was an eminent mathematician, born in the famous year 1588. He died in 1648, seven years after the date of the present letter. Father Mersenne, Fermat, and Roberval, carried on a very regular correspondence.

‡ Henry Briggs and William Oughtred were the two most famous mathematicians who had published in England. The

would send it ; but it may be he hath found it the analytical way himself. I am glad Mr. Reaves was in such forwardness when you wrote, but I doubt the glass (which I hope is now finished) is not of the same which you tried your refraction in, because Mr. Reaves hath broken in his trial so much glass, that I doubt there is none left of that which you tried your refraction in ; but, I hope, fire-glass differs so little in refraction that it will not do us much harm. I hope you go on with your own analytical work as your occasions will permit you. I have no more at this time to trouble you with, but remain,

Your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

MR. PELL TO

Oct. 12, 1642.

SIR,—It is well nigh three years ago since I first took notice, in Paul's church-yard, of the Elzevirs' notion concerning the printing of all

latter was still alive when Pell wrote, and did not die till 1660, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-seven. He was also well known as a divine, and was a native of Eton in Buckinghamshire. He is now chiefly known by his works on dialling. Briggs was a native of Yorkshire, born in 1566, and died in 1630. He is well known by his labours on logarithms. He published various mathematical works, and also a book on the northwest passage, which was a subject much canvassed

Vieta's works,* together with later men's illustrations thereon. I then told the booksellers, that England was not likely to afford any manuscripts of Vieta's, which might not more easily be had in France ; but for notes, I made no question that this country could contribute a share. Since, hearing no further of it, I supposed they had given over those thoughts, being taken up with the impression of more known writers ; till Mr. Morian's letters to you told us, not only that they still continue in the same mind, but also they looked upon me, desiring to know how able or willing I am to further that design of theirs. To which I thus answer in writing as you desired :—

I can hear of nothing of Vieta's in manuscript in England, but such pieces of his as are already printed, and were transcribed for the most part out

in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. He was admitted at Cambridge in 1579, and was the first professor of geometry at Gresham college.

* Vieta was an able French mathematician, born at Fontenai, in Lower Poitou, in 1540. He is said to have been the first author of special analysis. He died in 1603. An edition of his *Opera Mathematica*, was published in folio at Leyden, in 1646, four years after Pell's letter on the subject. This edition, printed by Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir, was edited by Francis van Schooten, professor of mathematics at Leyden, and dedicated to James Golius, "professor of mathematics and the oriental languages" at the same place. The notes are few and brief. The Elzevirs, in their preface, say, that they had received aid from "P. Marinus Mersennus" and James Golius.

of the printed books, because they could not be had for money. Here is also a manuscript of his *notæ priores ad Logisticen Speciosam*, transcribed many years ago, at Paris, out of a written copy; but since that time, le Sieur de Beaugrand hath caused it to be printed in 24mo at Paris, *anno* 1631, with a few notes of his own thereon. It is true, I have in mine own hands an imperfect astronomical manuscript of six sheets of paper, entitled *Hypotheses Francelinidis*, said to be a piece of a great work of Vieta's, called by him *Harmonicum Cæleste*, which may, perhaps, be found complete in France, whence mine came. I have been told here, that the Englishman that, at the time of Vieta's death served him as a scribe, under the counterfeit name of John Poltrier, being kindly offered by Vieta's heirs to take what he pleased to keep as a remembrance of him, took not a leaf of any of his writings. And Thuanus tells us, that the heirs did put all his papers in the hands of Peter Alelmus of Orleans. I never enquired whether this Peter were the father to Jacobus Alelmus, the French king's engineer; from whom, fourteen years after Vieta's death, Alex. Anderson* acknowledgeth

* Alexander Anderson was an eminent mathematician, native of Aberdeen, in Scotland. The dates of his birth and death are not certainly known, but his last publication appeared in 1619. He was professor of mathematics in the University of Paris. He published an Apollonius, and an edition of "Fran-

that he had those two tracts, *de equationum recognitione et emendatione*, which he first published at Paris, anno 1615. And, though it is likely that Monsieur Aleaume (for so I think the French call him) be now dead, yet I hope a diligent enquirer may learn who was his heir, and what is become of Vieta's *adversaria*.

It would be very well, if, by this means, something of his could be found that might save all other men the trouble of writing notes upon him; otherwise it will not be amiss to take the pains to add some notes, if they can get any worthy to be adjoined with his works. For, if I be not much mistaken in Vieta's writings, there are many dark and unusual expressions fit to be illustrated; and a considerable number of truths merely affirmed by him, not all, or not sufficiently demonstrated; and, perhaps, a few things (but not so many as some suppose) affirmed for truths, which are not so, at least in so large and general terms as we find them there set down—these ought to be limited. To these three sorts of notes, for *illustration*, *confirmation*, *limitation*, may be added the fourth sort, for *vindication*, where we find any sciolus in print unjustly blaming Vieta after his death, when he cannot defend himself.

cisci Vietæ de equationum recognitione et emendatione Tractatus duo," 4to. Paris, 1615. Anderson appears to have been a friend and disciple of Vieta.

But every one that calls himself a mathematician, is not *πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανός*. A good memory may serve for notes of collation, to shew us where any of those that wrote before Vieta have affirmed, proved, searched, solved the same thing, though in a different manner; or have reasoned after the same manner, though on a different subject. But to discern where light, strength, or limits, are wanting in his discourse, and fully to supply that want, requires a concurrence of other kind of abilities not everywhere to be found.

The likeliest that I can tell you of are, in France, M. Fermat, of Tholoze,* M. de Beaugrand,† M. de Beaulne,‡ and M. Roberval,§ in

* Peter Fermat, well known, not only as a mathematician, but as an universal genius, was born at Toulouse in 1590, and died in 1664. His collected works were published in two volumes, in folio, in 1679.

† M. de Beaugrand had considerable reputation as a mathematician, and wrote upon the cycloid. But Des Cartes speaks somewhat contemptuously of him.

‡ Florimond de Beaune was born at Blois in 1601, and died in 1652. He was counsellor of the presidial of that town. He published, in 1649, notes on the geometry of Des Cartes, of whom he was a staunch friend and partisan. He first started the question of determining a curve, by the properties of its tangent.

§ Giles Personier de Roberval, one of the most eminent of the older French mathematicians, born at Roberval, in the diocese of Beauvais, in 1602; he died in 1675. He was a great opponent of Des Cartes, and pretended to be the inventor of the method of indivisibles.

Paris ; in Hamburgh, Mr. Tassius ; in England, Mr. Oughtred, (and Mr. Warner, if his great age did not hinder him ;) in the Netherlands, M. Descartes,* and Mr. Gool† at Leyden ; and it may be, J. Wassenauer, of Utrecht,‡ and J. Sampsen at the Hague.

Now suppose the printer could procure notes upon Vieta from all these, it is not unlikely that the same things would be observed by the divers men, which to repeat as often in the printing, would make a very distasteful crumb, besides the needless augmentation of the bulk and price of the book. It may be, some of those notes would also be such as these now famous men wrote when they were first studying those things, and so no way representing the now abilities of their authors. It is also possible that those notes, which some of them write now, may give us cause to say *dormitat Homerus*, considering the great age and many diversions of most of those men. Whereas, these studies, above all others, *secessum scribentis et otia quærunt*; whence

* The celebrated René Descartes was born at La Haye, in Touraine, in 1596, and died in 1650.

† James Gool, more ordinarily called *Goli*us, the Orientalist. He was professor of Arabic at Leyden. He was born at the Hague in 1596, and died in 1667. Among other things, he published Alfragau's Elements of Astronomy, with a very learned commentary.

‡ Vassenaar was one of the most zealous disciples of the geometry of Descartes.

it comes to pass, that many times, men of unquestionable abilities have, notwithstanding, failed grossly ; whilst they would not go to the full cost of a search, but hoped to find some hidden truth in less time, or with less labour and intention of mind than is thereunto necessary. Wherefore, unless the learned Golius, or some other no less versed in those studies, do oversee the impression, and rigorously examine all the notes before the printing, it is to be feared that it would have been better to have adjoined no notes at all.

Lastly, Mr. Morian adds, “or if he have anything else tending to the art itself.” I know not whether the printers desire this or not, because this might increase the price of the book, and yet displease many lovers of Vieta. But, perhaps, it is only his own motion, both because he hath seen my letter to you, which you caused to be printed just this time four years ; and also because he knows that analysis is not the only way to find truths ; nor algebra the only field wherein to exercise analysis ; nor is Vieta's way the only algebra ; nor hath Vieta perfectly taught all that belongs to his way, as, perhaps, I should have shewn clearly ere this time, had I not been hindered by the continuance of innumerable diversions, which I need not mention to you, that have so well known me above these thirteen years. Howsoever, there lies by me no small apparatus to this purpose, being

the work of all the spare minutes of many years. For there is no such ἐργοδιώκτης as a man's own genius, which, at every little vacancy, calls upon him with Pliny's *poteras has horas non perdere*; and is still setting him upon some particle or other of that study which he most affects, not permitting him to remember how uncertain it is who shall reap the fruit of all that labour, whether it shall ever be gainful to himself, or procure him *viventi decus atque sentienti*; or whether he must not leave it to them that come after, who, perhaps, will never understand or regard the effects of all that labour wherein he hath travelled.

MR. PELL TO SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH.

Amsterdam, Aug. 7, 1644.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Nine days ago was your answer to mine left at my lodgings by a man that would have nothing for postage. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have learned some conveniency of sending back to you again, so that my letters might be less chargeable than if they come thus single to you by the ordinary post.

I had sent you Descartes' new book* forth-

* His *Principia Philosophiæ*, which was first printed at Amsterdam in 1644, in 4to.

with, if your letter had given me direction how to convey it to you, which seeing you have not done, I resolve to send it to Hamburg by the next ship, to be left for you either at Berthold Offerman's, a book-seller's, or else at some other friend's house which I shall signify by letter. Though the title page of the other part tells us that it is *ab auctore perfecta variisque in locis emendata*, yet I have given order to leave it out and to bind his *Principia Philosophiæ* apart for you. Whereby half the price is abated.

Descartes himself is gone into France. Monsieur Hardy * tells us, in a letter lately written, that Descartes met him in Paris and blamed him for offering so much money to our Arabic professor, at Utrecht, for his Arabic manuscript of Apollonius, which Mr. Hardy interprets as a sign of envy in M. Descartes, as being unwilling that we should esteem the ancients or admire any man but himself for the doctrine of *lignes courbes*.

But I think France alone will afford me argument for a large letter, and therefore I leave it till the next time.

Come we therefore to England. And first for Mr. Warner's Analogics, of which you desire to know whether they be printed. You remember that his papers were given to his kinsman, a mer-

* Monsieur Hardy was a French mathematician, and a warm partisan of Descartes.

chant in London, who sent his partner to bury the old man, himself being hindered by apoplectic gout, which made him keep out of their sight that urged him to contribute to the parliament's assistance, from which he was exceedingly averse. So he was looked upon as one that absented himself out of malignancy, as his partner managed the whole trade. Since my coming over, the English merchants here tell me that both he and his partner are broken, and now they both keep out of sight, not as malignants, but as bankrupts. But this you may better inquire amongst our Hamburg merchants. In the meantime, I am not a little afraid that all Mr. Warner's papers, and no small share of my labours therein, are seized upon and most unmathematically divided between the sequestrators and creditors, who (being not able to balance the account where there appear so many numbers, and much troubled at the sight of so many crosses and circles in the superstitious algebra and that black art of geometry) will, no doubt, determine once in their lives to become figure-casters, and so vote them all to be thrown into the fire, if some good body do not reprieve them for pie bottoms, &c., for which purposes you know analogical numbers are incomparably apt if they be accurately calculated.

I cannot tell you much better news of my analytical speculations, of the finishing of which you desire to hear. I came over hither in December

last, not bringing any of my books or papers with me, nor hardly clothes, for the worst I had seemed good enough to wear a' shipboard. I then thought not to stay here above a fortnight. Nor did I imagine that, before I got out of this town again, I should be persuaded to climb the Cathedra, and make inaugural orations and prælusions, and afterwards read publicly, five days in a week, an hour every day in Latin. Which, had I foreseen, I think that all the books and papers that I had, both yours and mine, should have come along with me, to enable me to do those things more easily.*

And yet I have no great mind to go fetch them, nor to send for them; as long as they are there unstirred, they seem to be safe. But the disasters of the whole kingdom put me in mind of what Melancthon used so often to say: *Non est tutum quæta movere*. What may happen to them in the removal, by searchers, pirates, &c., I am not willing to try. Yet so long as they are there, we cannot count them out of danger. But should that befall Mr. Warner's papers and mine, which we fear, it would put me into a humour quite contrary to that in which I have hitherto been. I have thought nothing elaborate enough to be printed till it were so complete that no man could better it, and did, therefore, so long keep my name out of the press. But now

* Pell was made professor of mathematics at Amsterdam.

I begin to count nothing safe enough till it be printed ; and, therefore, I have almost resolved to secure my thoughts, not by burying my papers in England, nor by fetching them hither, but by publishing the same notions here that I have committed to paper there.

I had thought here to have given you account of what I have now in hand, but being desirous by this post to let you know that your letter came safe to my hands, I am constrained to break off here, deferring the rest till my next. In the meantime, I remain,

Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN PELL.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY TO MR. PELL.

Leyden, Aug. 14-24, 1644.

SIR,—On Sunday noon, I received your letter of Friday, together with nine copies of your refutation of Longomontanus,* the which, according to your desire, I have distributed as followeth, namely. To Golius, who, upon perusal of it, said

* On the Quadrature of the Circle. Longomontanus, born at Langberg, in Denmark, in 1562, was professor of astronomy at Copenhagen, and a disciple and supporter of Tycho Brahe. In his old age, he ran wild upon the Quadrature of the Circle, in which problem he conceived that he had discovered the most extraordinary mysteries. He died in 1647.

it was a most solid refutation, thanking you very much that you remembered him with a copy ; and said withal, that he, at his last being at Amsterdam, much endeavoured to have waited on you there. But he told me that it is well thirty years since Longomontanus's doctrine first saw light ; since which time he hath, by many letters, been advertized of his error, but being strangely enamoured with his invention, could not be made to retract it, and so hath grown extreme old in his dotage thereon. " Wherefore," said Golius, " 'twere scarce religion to trouble the obstinate old man any more, since other thoughts would better become his years than the mathematics." I then went to Salmatius,* professor honorarius, who likewise shewed many tokens of his kind acceptance, and told me (among other discourse, whereof I had much with him) that the age of the author of this false opinion would set an authority on it, and therefore it had the more need of refutation. Walæus† thanks you very much, expressing no faint desires to have the honour, as he said, of your acquaintance. I have

* The famous Claude Saumaise, the antagonist of Milton. He was born at Semur-en-Auxois, in Burgundy, in 1588, and died in 1653, not many months after the appearance of Milton's answer to his *Defensio Regia*.

† John Walæus was professor of medicine at Leyden, and we owe to him some discoveries relating to the circulation of the blood.

presented one to Monsieur de Laet but this morning,* for at the many other times that I had formerly been to wait on him, I was not so happy as to find him. Van Schooten† also thanks you, but he being very old and indisposed, I had not much talk with him, as I had with the others. To Dr. Kyper,‡ being a man reasonably versed in those studies, and not of low esteem here, I presented one; I have given two to Joncher Hooghland, a chemist and physician, Descartes' most intimate friend and correspondent, who hath promised, at his next writing, to send one to Descartes. And so, having retained only one to shew my friends up and down where I go, I hope they are all disposed of to your mind. If you please to send twelve more, I can dispose of them to some other professors. Three or four I would send to England to Mr. Oughtred, Mr. Barlow, and others, if you do not yourself. I judge, by the leaves, that these copies are part of some book which you will shortly bless the world with, and hope that my expectation shall not be in

* If this be John de Laet, the historian and geographer, the ordinary date of his death (1640) must be wrong. He was born at Antwerp.

† Francis Van Schooten, professor of mathematics at Leyden. See p. 348, *n*. He wrote a commentary on the geometry of Descartes, of which he was a zealous supporter.

‡ Albert Kyper, who published several medical books at Leyden and Amsterdam from 1645 to 1654, in which latter year he seems to have been resident at Amsterdam.

vain. Now, Sir, I must thank you for the honour you have done me by using me as an instrument in this your business. Truly I do so well like your employment and so resent* this your favour, that I confess myself obliged to be your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

W. PETTY.

There are some in whom (as in him *qui ex pede Herculem*, &c.) this your *magnum opusculum* hath begotten such an opinion of your merit, that they resolve to go live at Amsterdam to receive your instructions.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Antwerp, March 26, 1645, old style.

WORTHY SIR,—Not to trouble you with more particulars of our journey than that, at Rotterdam, Sir William Boswell* came to us, whom I found to be that which I supposed him formerly to be, a discreet, civil gentleman. I perceive he thinks Monsieur Descartes' last book to be full of fancy, though he esteems much of him. Here I

* The word *resent* was at this time used in a good sense, as commonly as in a bad one.

† Sir William Boswell was Charles the First's resident at the Hague.

met with Sir Kenelm Digby's book,* but had no time to read it all, but it appears to me to have some things in it extraordinary. We met here with the famous capuchin Rieta; his book is now in the press here, almost finished. He solves the appearances of the planets by eccentrics without æquants or epicycles, and yet not according to Copernicus' system of the world. He teaches also in this book the making of his new telescope; his tube for his best glass was spoiled, so that we could not see it, but we saw another made by his directions, but had not the opportunity of looking at a convenient object far distant; but, as I guess, it is not better than mine; it represents objects reversed. I had not discourse enough with him alone to ask him many queries, but, doubtless, he is an excellent man and very courteous, and I found him free and open in his discourse to me. He says, he can easily and infallibly find the longitude, but he discovers not that in this book. He says, the satellites of Jupiter are little suns, and divers other novelties he hath observed, many of which he will not discover in this book. I have no more

* Sir Kenelm Digby's "Two Treatises on the Body and Soul of Man" were printed at Paris in 1644, and reprinted at London in 1645. Evelyn speaks with great contempt of Sir Kenelm, and on one occasion characterizes him as "an errant mountebank."—Diary, vol. ii., p. 42. He was born at Gotherst, in Buckinghamshire, in 1603, and died in 1648.

now to trouble you with, but to desire that you will think of publishing some of your rarities, especially in the analytics. And so wishing you all happiness,

I remain, your assured friend and servant,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

We are now going towards Brussels.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Paris, May 1-11, 1645.

WORTHY SIR,—After our parting from you, we made no haste hither, but went little journeys and made our stay by the way. Since my coming hither, I have not yet made any near acquaintances with the learned men here, but my old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Mydorge* hath been with me, who complains of some diversions which have hindered his studies, so that I doubt we must yet awhile longer expect the rest of his conics. I perceive he hath a very great opinion of Monsieur Descartes. Mr. Hobbes† is so averse from a friendship with Monsieur Descartes that he would not see him

* Claude Mydorge was an able French mathematician, born at Paris in 1585; he died in 1647. He published a work on conics.

† The famous Hobbes of Malmesbury, who took up his residence at Paris during the struggles.

when he was here. Mr. Hobbes commends Mr. Roberval extremely. I send you here a problem solved and demonstrated by Mr. Hobbes; the figures were made in haste by himself, only to express the demonstration to me; I thought to send you better figures, but when I had made them, I liked them worse than these. He cites one proposition demonstrated by himself in his intended work; that is, that the arithmetical mean is greater than the geometrical mean between the same extremes; it is obvious enough, but he takes it by the way in his philosophy, following out of his principles, which are some of them peculiar to himself. I doubt it will be long ere Mr. Hobbes publish anything; so far as I have read, I like very well; he proceeds every day somewhat, but he hath a great deal to do.

I hope you advance your analytic work on Diophantes, so that I hope you will be the first of my acquaintance that will publish anything. I desire that you will do me the favour to send this enclosed letter to my worthy friend M. Dr. Jungius,* at Hamburg. And so wishing you all happiness,

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

* Joachim Jungius celebrated as a mathematician, a physician, and a botanist. He was born in 1587, and died at Hamburg in 1657.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Paris, Nov. 1-11, 1645.

WORTHY SIR,—I give you many thanks for your letter, and telling me of my error; but I should have been glad if your leisure had permitted that you would have shewed me where I went out of the way, for though I believe I have, because you tell me so, yet I perceive not wherein, and therefore am bold to trouble you again with this enclosed paper. I am glad to understand by your letter to Mersennus, that Vieta is now printing, but should be gladder to hear that some of yours were printing. Mersennus hath your letter and papers to him, and I hope he will do that at your request which I could not get him to do, which is, to get you more testificates of the truth of your theorem. I have read some of Tauricell,* and I esteem him one of the most admirable men that ever I read, so that I have sent for his book to Florence, for there is none here to be bought. We received Rieta's book yesterday, and I have looked over his manner of making perspective glasses, and I believe it is good, and so I must for him, for he demonstrates nothing, nor meddles with the speculative part of

* Toricelli, a most eminent mechanist and mathematician, the friend and disciple of Galilei. He was born at Faenza in 1618, and died in 1647.

optics ; I have not had time to read the rest, but I doubt not but you have the book, and therefore no more of it, only thus much, he infinitely commends Gerardus Gutschovius,* a doctor of physic in the Low Countries, for a rare mathematician, and his invention for describing hyperbolas fitting to the several lengths of tubes of perspectives ; if he have printed anything, I pray you give me notice of it by your next. He also mentions that the quadrature of the circle is also published, but names not the author, but when I was at Antwerp I heard there was a Jesuit† in those parts publishing such a book ; if there be any such, I desire you will give me notice of it by your next. And so wishing you all happiness,

I remain, your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

Mr. Hobbes intends to publish, as soon as he can, a treatise of optics ; he hath done half of it, and Mr. Petit hath written it fair ; it is in English, at my brother's request.

* Gerard Gutschoven was professor of mathematics and anatomy at Lovaine.

† Father Gregoire de St. Vincent (Latinized Gregorius a Sancto Vincentio), a famous mathematician of the Low Countries. His treatise, entitled, *Opus Geometricum Quadraturæ Circuli et Sectionum Coni*, published in folio at Antwerp, 1647, though wrong in its aim, is full of interesting discoveries. It caused much controversy among the mathematicians of the age.

Mr. Hobbes promised to give me all the names of Roberval and Carcavi* and their titles, but not having yet done it, and the post going away, I must do it by the next. My services to Doctor Jungius when you write to him. I hope he will shortly publish his Apollonius Saxonicus, Logic and Phoronomics; doubtless he is an incomparable man.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY† TO MR. PELL.

Paris, November 8, 1645.

SIR,—Father Mersen's desire to convey this enclosed to you serves me for a happy occasion to express my thankfulness for the good of that ac-

* M. de Carcavi was an eminent French mathematician of this age.

† Sir William Petty was one of the most extraordinary men of his time. Evelyn has given a very interesting account of him in his Diary, vol. ii., p. 401. He was born in Sussex, (or, according to others, in Hampshire,) of mean parents, and was educated at Oxford. "There is not," says Evelyn, "a better Latin poet living, when he gives himself that diversion. Nor is his excellence less in council, and prudent matters of state; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There were not in the whole world his equal for a superintendent of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a plantation. If I were a prince, I should make him my second counsellor at least. There is nothing difficult to him." This was in 1675. Sir William died in 1682. He published several books, and contributed many papers to the Philosophical Transactions.

quaintance with Mr. Hobbes which your letters procured me; for, by his means, my Lord of Newcastle* and your good friend Sir Charles Candish have been pleased to take notice of me; and by his means also, I became acquainted with Father Mersén, a man who seems to me not in any mean degree to esteem you and your works, and who wishes your studies may ever succeed happily, hoping (as others also do) that the world shall receive light and benefit by them. Sir, I desire you not to conceive that any neglect or forgetfulness hath caused my long silence, for the often speech I have of you, either with Sir Charles, Mr. Hobbes, or Father Mersén (besides the courtesy I received from you), makes me sufficiently to remember you. But, to speak the truth, it was want of business worthy to make the subject of a letter of sixteen pence postage, especially since Mr. Hobbes served you in procuring and sending you the demonstrations of other French mathematicians. I could wish, with Sir Charles, that we could see your way of analytics abroad; or, if a system of the whole art were too much to hope for, for my own part, I could wish

* William Cavendish Earl (afterwards Duke) of Newcastle, father of Sir Charles Cavendish, and husband of the celebrated Duchess of Newcastle, so much talked of for her writings and her eccentricity in the days of Charles II. He had borne arms in the royal cause, but retired to the continent after the battle of Marston Moor, as mentioned in the Introduction to this publication.

we had your Diophantus, which was ready for the press before my departure from you. Those rules of algebra (though few) which you gave me, and exercise, have made me able to do many pretty questions. I intend to read no author of that subject until I may be so happy to read something of yours. Sir, if there be anything wherein I might serve you, I desire you to use

Your thankful friend and humble servant,

WILLIAM PETTY.

SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL TO MR. PELL.

Hague, August 5, 1646.

WORTHY MR. PELL,—Since my last, I have received the enclosed from Dr. Johnson, wherein you may see his sense of your business at Breda, of which I have not yet had any speech with Myn H. de Willim, though I hear he be come back to the Hague, because my occasions have kept me either wholly within doors, or led me out of town. To yourself I cannot say more than the doctor doth; wherefore, wishing you heartily and perfectly well, and being most ready to do you all possible good offices in my way and power, I rest,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

To Mr. John Pell, Professor of Mathematics,
in Amsterdam.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Paris, August 7-17, 1646.

WORTHY SIR,—I give you many thanks for your letter. I thought to have written to M. Descartes, but I thought best to defer it awhile, till I might know somewhat of the opinion of some of our learned men here concerning the controversy between him and M. de Roberval, touching the centre of agitation. I find them hitherto loath to give their judgment, therefore it becomes me not to give any ; but I shall presume, God willing, shortly to return M. Descartes many thanks for his favours to me, both concerning that quære and otherways ; and I assure you I esteem as highly of him as I did before this controversy, and more, for if there be further considerations, yet what he hath said is most ingenious. I long to hear if Vieta's works be yet printed,* and Vincentio,† of the quadrature of the circle, &c., but most of all, of somewhat of yours, especially your analytics. Both you and I are beholden to Monsieur Mydorge, who sent me this enclosed last week, I expecting but a line or two of his approbation of your refutation of Longomontanus. I have troubled you enough at this time ; and so, wishing you all happiness,

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

* See before, p. 348, note.

† See before, p. 366, note.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Paris, October 12, 1646.

WORTHY SIR,—It is so long since I heard from you, that I doubt you have not received my two last to you ; in the latter of which there was a little treatise of Mr. Mydorge's, concerning his opinion of your refutation of Longomontanus. I desire to know by your next if you have received it. I desire you will also do me the favour to let me know whether Vieta's works be all yet reprinted together, as was intended; and the Jesuit's* book, at Antwerp, of the quadrature of the circle, &c. But I desire most to know where you are, and how you do ; and next, what you have ready for the press ; for if this new college at Breda have not diverted you, I assure myself you would have had somewhat in the press by this time. Mr. Hobbes reads mathematics sometimes to our prince, but I believe he hath spare time enough besides to go on with his philosophy. I saw lately a book of the Jesuit Kircher's,† of light and shadow ; it hath so many fine figures in it, that I suspect it hath no great matter in it ; and Monsieur Gassendes‡ doth not

* Vincentio.

† The famous Athanasius Kircher, who wrote so much on Egyptian antiquities. He was born in 1601, and died in 1680.

‡ Peter Gassendi, or Gassendes, Professor Royal of Mathematics at Paris, but more famous as a philosopher even than as a mathematician. He was born in Provence, in 1592, and died in 1655.

much commend it, so that I have no encouragement to buy it or read it. I should be glad to hear of Doctor Jungius ; it is so long since I wrote to him, and having never received any answer from him, that I am almost discouraged from writing to him again ; yet I may not forget the favours I received from him when I was with him, and shall shortly again return him my thanks for them, hoping he will at last bestow some favours on me at a distance, as well as near hand. I desire also to know how and what Mr. Tassius doth. I have troubled you enough for once ; and so, wishing you all happiness,

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH TO MR. PELL.

Paris, December 7, 1646, new style.

WORTHY SIR,—Many thanks for yours of November 7-17, by which I perceive you have received all mine, and in one of them Monsieur Mydorge's discourse of your theorem, which, I confess, was more than I expected from him, for I believe he studies not mathematics much now, and therefore we are the more obliged to him ; though, as you write, a few lines of his approbation would have satisfied you as well, yet we must take our

friends' expressions as they are pleased to give them, especially proceeding from an affectionate care to give full satisfaction, as I dare say his did ; and I conceive no fault in it, but that it would make your book bigger than you mean it, if you should print it with it. I esteem it a great honour you do me to admit my demonstrations in your book, though I desire, as I formerly did, not to be named, otherwise than a friend, scholar, and countryman of yours ; and this I desire, to avoid the impertinent aspersions which foolish tongues may produce ; but I remit it to your better judgment.

I am glad to hear you are so well at Breda,* for I hope it is much to your advantage as well in profit as in honour. I long much for your book, but extremely for the second part of it, for there I suppose we shall have somewhat of your analytics. I long also to hear whether you proceed with your Apollonius and Diophantus. I am in despair of Golius' Apollonius, at least for many years. Vieta's works are newly come hither.† You are obliged to P. Mersen for Monsieur Pallieur's Christian name, whose note to Mersen I here send you. I hope M. Descartes hath received my letter of thanks for his favours ; I have desisted from troubling him

* He left Amsterdam to take a professorship at the new college founded by the Prince of Orange at Breda, in 1646.

† They were just published. See p. 348, note.

more concerning the business of vibration in question between him and Monsieur Roberval; for the expression of Mr. Roberval's last reply was, I conceive, too sharp, so that I remitted it to P. Mersennus, to send it if he pleased, which he did, and M. Descartes hath replied to it accordingly. The business is too difficult for me to judge of, for it puts our learned men here to the gaze. Regius* follows M. Descartes in his philosophy almost verbatim, so far as he hath written, and I suppose he hath got the rest (of trees and animals) from him by way of discourse. Père Vincentio's book is not yet arrived here that I know of, but daily expected.

Mr. Hobbes's journey to Montauban was stayed, being implored to read mathematics to our prince.† My Lord Jerman‡ did, I believe, do him that favour and honour; for his friends here, I am confident, had no hand in it. Mr. Hobbes's lodging being uncertain, I repent not you directed your letters to Monsieur du Bose, whose abode is constant. I am lately acquainted with your friend Mr. Gilbert, who seems to be an able and honest man; I am very

* Peter Sylvan Regius was a great partisan of the philosophy of Descartes. He is said to have been born at Agenois, in 1632, which must be an error, or he was very young at the date of this letter. He died in 1707.

† Prince Charles, who was at Paris.

‡ Henry Lord Jermyn, afterwards Earl of St. Alban's.

glad of his acquaintance. I hear Mr. Oughtred's *Clavis** is now reprinted, with some additions, as dialling, and Euclid's tenth book after his manner, and, I hope, something more of analytics, though I heard not that mentioned; but I expect the great addition to analytics by yourself. I doubt Mr. Hobbes will not finish and publish his physics this twelvemonth.

I long to hear what Doctor Jungius doth, and also Mr. Tassius. Mr. Roberval hath half promised to publish the *Geometria* by Indivisibles, which Cavaliero† hath begun; for he says, he invented and used that way before Cavaliero's book was published, and that he can deliver that doctrine much easier and shorter, and shew the use of it in divers propositions which he hath invented by the help of it; but I doubt it will be long before he publish it, though I assure myself he is very skilful in it.

Sir, I have troubled you enough at this time;

* Oughtred's *Clavis Mathematica*, first printed in 1631. An enlarged edition appeared in 1648. Two successive editions were afterwards printed at Oxford.

† Bonaventura Cavalleri, or Cavallerius, was an eminent Italian mathematician, born at Milan, in 1598. He died in 1647. His famous *Geometria Indivisibilibus continuorum nova quadam ratione promota* was first printed in quarto, at Bologna, in 1635. A new edition, the one, probably, here referred to, appeared in 1653.

therefore, wishing you all happiness, I commit you
and us all to God's holy protection, and remain,

Your assured friend to serve you,

CHARLES CAVENDYSSHE.

To my very worthy friend, Mr. John Pell, Public
Professor of the Mathematics, at Breda;
Ten huysse van Mr. Buck, in den gulden
Eenhoren, op de markt, in Breda.

SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL TO MR. PELL.

January, 1648.

WORTHY MR. PELL,—I must give you, as I do,
many thanks for your several letters, particularly
that about the level, which comes in one part to my
purpose for the water-pass ; so as I am likely, when
I can get my thoughts free, to trouble you with a
gentle question or two further upon that point.
Heulii Selenographia &c. I have not seen ; but a
Neapolitan, which a friend hath lent me, I send
herewith, and pray you, after four or five weeks, to
return it by some convenient messenger or friend.
So soon as I may hear of Apollonius from Spain,
you may know what I receive. I pray, do you think
Gilbert's *Physiologia* MS. (which I believe you
have seen in the King's Library, at St. James's)*

* William Gilbert, M.D., born at Colchester, in 1540, was
physician to Queen Elizabeth, and the discoverer of several

would make anything to his or the renown of our nation, if printed in these wild times. I find he had the start of many of our modern madcaps, and so may challenge precedence! When that may be a recreation to you, to let me know your sense in word to this effect, you will very much oblige me, to be, as I am, and mathematical be,

Your assured friend and servant,

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

I must thank you for your kind respects unto this bearer. In haste.

MR. RICHARD WAKE TO SIR W. BOSWELL.

Madrid, January 8, 1648.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Yours of the 14th I had by this last ordinary, which brought us letters of the 21st of November from Antwerp. I am very sorry I cannot at present give you any account about Fastidius Priscus, the British bishop, though I have

properties of the loadstone. He died in 1603. There were three editions of his *Physiologia nova*, which is a learned treatise on magnetism. A posthumous work of his was edited by Sir William Boswell, and published in 1651, in quarto, entitled, *De Mundo nostro sublunari Philosophia nova*. Amst. ap. Lud. Elzev. A beautifully written manuscript of this latter work, dedicated to Prince Henry (son of James I.), is still preserved among the king's MSS. (now in the British Museum), 12, F. xi.

written very particularly about the said book to the president of the English Benedictines, in Rome, by name of il Padre Giovanni Wilfordo. His answer, as yet, I have not received. But, I think, one word of yours to him, by my father's means (if so yourself have no mind to be seen in the business), will clear all. As for Pr. Richardo, he was but newly arrived at Madrid that night from Antwerp when I received your letter; with which acquainting him, he told me that he had been at Antwerp purposely to get Apollonius Pergæus' eight books, printed with large annotations; but, before the piece be published, the printer, which is Jeronymus Verdusen, will not put him to press. In the meantime, the copy of the book is in the hands of a friend of mine, named Vincentio de la Salio, who has a brother, a Jesuit, that waits upon Don John de Austria, one of the rarest mathematicians in the world. If you be pleased to write to him, by my father's means, he being a very gallant gentleman, shall particularly inform you of the work which Pr. Richardo is now setting forth. In the meantime, if anything in Spain comes to light in that science, I shall be watchful to comply with your commands; and so, not having anything else at present, I shall wish you this and many more happy new years, and always subscribe myself,

Sir, your humble servant,

RICH. WAKE.

Here is no news at all, only that the decreto which was made the past October is like wholly and only to fall upon the Portuguese, whom, I fear, at length they will banish Spain. The other day died Georgio de Paz, and left the king in his debt four millions seven hundred V. P. He had besides, in Juras, above eighty thousand ducats per annum. He was the richest subject in Europe, for such a man of quality.

MR. W. RAYMOND TO MR. PELL.

Hague, December 13, 1650.

MR. PELL,—Having perused some of the papers in Sir William Boswell's study, amongst them I found a letter of yours, dated the 14th of September, 1640, wherein there is mention made of some papers left in your hands, at the end of your letter, in these words :—" The papers of J. D., which you were pleased to leave in my hands, I shall carefully keep for you, that you may have, at least, your principal, if no interest, whensoever you shall call for it." My lady, not knowing how long she shall stay here, desireth you would restore what books or papers you have in your custody with what speed you can, especially the MS. of Gilbertus de Magnete, if in your hands ; if not, to inform her, if you

can, unto whom it was lent. My lady presents her kind love unto you by me, who, with my brother's respects remembered, shall remain,

Your friend to serve you,

WILL. RAYMOND.

A Monsieur Pell, Professeur des Mathematiques,
au College d'Orange, à Breda.

MR. PELL TO MR. RAYMOND.

December 14-24, 1650.

MR. RAYMOND,—In answer to yours of December 13, wherein you call for papers of J. D., and a manuscript of Gilbertus de Magnete, give me leave to tell you, that I have not any book or papers in my custody belonging to Sir William Boswell, or his heirs, &c.

I have here a letter from Sir William Boswell to me, dated, Hague, January 10-20, 1641-2, in which he acknowledgeth that he hath received the papers mentioned in that letter of mine, September 14, 1640, which you have seen.

I never saw Gilbert de Magnete in MS.; the MS. which I had here was Gilberti Physiologia nova, which I sent back about a year ago. And, in Sir William's last letter to me (written but twenty days before his death), I find that he had delivered it to a friend, whom he there names not, to fit it for

the press. But I have since heard, that Louis Elzever, of Amsterdam, hath it now under his press.* I pray you present my service to my Lady Boswell and your brother, when you next write to him.

Your friend to serve you,

JOHN PELL.

MR. PELL TO SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH.

November 9, new style.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—In my last, sent eight days ago, by Sir William Vavasour's son, I did make half a promise to send *something else* the next week, by our old carman. That *something then intended* was such as you expected from me ; not this unexpected news of the death of my master, the Prince of Orange, who fell sick of the small-pox, at the Hague, on Monday, the last of October ; and the next Sunday night, about nine o'clock, died there. The news came but yesterday morning to this town, where all men's eyes are upon the behaviour of those that depended more immediately upon him. Some of my colleagues tell me that I am well enough ; because they know that, about ten weeks ago, two of the magistrates of Utrecht were here with me, sent from the whole senate of that city to offer me two hundred guilders a-year more than

* See before, p. 377, note.

they had given to Mr. Ravensburg, yet requiring no more service of me than he had done. I then answered, that the prince gave me more than they offered me, and that his highness had never given me notice that he had rather dismiss me than keep me any longer here. About four weeks after, they were sent to pray the prince to let them have me. I have been told that his highness, instead of granting their request, sent them home with a very harsh answer. How true this is, I know not. Sure I am that they neither came nor sent to me since they spake with the prince. It may be they will now think that business more feasible, because none is in their way whose displeasure they regard. But, in the meantime, I am in the same predicament with my colleagues, uncertain what will become of this *Schola Auriaca*, and how long it will be ere all the professors shall be warned to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

I am not out of hope that, because of this extraordinary accident, I may yet a week longer defer the obeying of your commands, without losing the title of

Your honour's most humble and obedient servant.

MR. WILLIAM BRERETON* TO MR. PELL.

London, March 5, 1651, old style.

WORTHIEST MASTER,—Yours of February 2 came safe to my hands, to which I had sooner made a return, but that I love not to make more haste than good speed. I was glad to see that you thought it not amiss to come hither yourself; for (by what I find) there can be no such advantageous conditions offered you at this distance as when you are here: you may propose for yourself, and (for ought I see) have them granted, which I the rather believe, because some powerful men profess themselves really bent to do you good; and it shall be my task to put them in mind of their promises, till yourself be here to do it, which Mr. Hartlib judges your best course; though (I doubt not) the doctor will tell you here is no encouragement for learned men, or else, that all places are filled. But the truth is, he loves not to take much pains for others; and therefore thinks he hath sufficiently discharged the part of a friend in inquiring of such men as, being gotten into good places themselves, will endeavour to keep

* The son of the second Lord Brereton, of Leaghlin, in Ireland, to whose title he succeeded, and was member for Cheshire in the reign of Charles II. He was educated at Breda (where Pell was professor of mathematics), and was one of the founders of the Royal Society. Evelyn says, in September, 1659, "Came to see Mr. Brereton, a very learned gentleman, son to my Lord Brereton." He died in 1679.

out all others, though never so much their friends. For the truth is, there are yet some men who study their own profit more than the good of others, and, having gotten a reputation of learning amongst incompetent judges of it, engross all rewards due to it. But I hope there hath been such a course taken as that they shall not be able to oppose, or at least to hinder, your advancement; and that there is nothing wanting but your presence to make an end of this business, wherein there neither hath, nor shall be, anything wilfully omitted by me. I must not forget myself, but let you know that the money is now at London, but I cannot receive it this fortnight; as soon as I receive it, I shall send over John for my trunks, which, I hope, may come over with you, unless (which I should be glad of) you resolve to come sooner. You will hear more from Mr. Hartlib. My hopes of seeing you here make me not write something which I could wish you knew. I will only tell you, that I have been with Sir Charles Cavendish and Mr. Hobbes several times, who are both here. Mr. Fleetwood told me he would write to you to-day; and so did the doctor, of whom I have said enough, though not too much.

I rest, your ever faithful scholar to serve you,

W. B.

MR. WILLIAM BRERETON TO MR. PELL.

Thiselworth, July 13th, 1652.

WORTHIEST MASTER,—I should not have troubled you with reading this, could I conveniently have come to London, before your appointed time of going into Sussex. But that drawing so near, I thought it not amiss to inquire of you, whether you yet hold that resolution; and how long you think your absence from London is likely to be; or whether, since I saw you, something hath fallen out to stay your journey; and if you think it is in my power to do you service, and when. If you please to write an answer, I have ordered this bearer to call for it, and I shall endeavour to let you see that I am yet, your faithful scholar to serve you,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

I have read over the book you lent me, and find some things which I think worth a review.

JOHN BURKE* TO MR. PELL.

MY LORDE,—I ame here in payne of death; if your greatnesse will locke upon me, and to pray the prences of Souricke that they may give me grace; th'is true that I have very ill done to lay with your

* Several troops of Irish were concerned in the massacres in Piedmont and the petty warfare which followed. This John Burke, as appears from other notes among Pell's papers, was an impostor.

heyness. Nowe uppon mee kneese I ax you pardon, if plese your mayte ambassador to give it me; and to tacke pittie of a poure youth that is in a strange contry. For, to tell you the truth, I am a marchant sonne from Limbricke, which is called William Bourke, and that was proteston, and me-selfe alsoe, untell the Quine of England made mee goe to masse; but yett for all, I had no intansion to it at all. I came from Eirland with Sir Robert Wilse, that was lounge thime in England. The foresayde Robert brought a regiment with heem to France, and it is a marchant that was me captine, which I was his clarke for to write the billetts. Now, Sir, I promeese you to goue for England, and to live in me one religion, which I was before, prayinge your heynesse to lett me not to deth for God his sake; and to write with me to England your passe, and if you have anney bisnesse your selfe to sende to your freinds. Soe I reste, this presente day, your humble servant to command, for ever and ever, JOHN BOURK.

Me livinge is in your hands noue, prayinge your mayte lett me not to deth, send a litill wourd to the conselle.

To the right honnorable lorde and ambasador
for his mayste Crommel in the cittie of Sour-
ricke, called my Lord Pelle. At Souricke.

Mr. Pell's answer.—I have spoken just now with the principal secretary. I do not perceive that they intend to take away your life.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Hague, April 14-24,
being our eldest daughter's birthday.

THURSDAY morning, we came to Gravesend betimes. Not long after we set sail, the wind turned against us, and so continued the whole voyage; so that we could not get to land anywhere till Saturday; then we landed at Dunkirk. From whence, through Veurn, Nieuport, Bruges, Sluys, Middelburg, Rotterdam, and Delft, we came to the Hague yesterday. Since I came into this country, I have written to Capt. Arnold, and Capt. T.

To-day, being post-day here for London, I thought it fit to lay hold on the opportunity to let you know we are come thus far safe, and in good health. Perhaps sometimes, during my travel, a post may give me the slip, but I shall endeavour to give you account of our healths as often as I may. But you cannot send me answers till I send you word whither to direct them. Yet you shall do well in the meantime to keep a paper by you, wherein you may set down all such things as happen to any of our acquaintance, and which you shall think fit to be written to me, as soon as you shall have opportunity. God all-sufficient keep you all. Remember my respects to all, &c.

This is only to assure you that we are come safe and in good health to Frankford. To-morrow morn-

ing, we intend, God willing, to set forward, in hopes to come to the end of our journey in less than a fortnight more. Mr. Hartlib knows how to send to me. Almighty God direct and preserve us and you all. May 7th, old style.

To Mrs. Pell, at her house behind six trees, in Gardiner's Lane, near King's Street, Westminster.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

May 21, old style.

THIS day fortnight, I wrote to you from Frankford. I hope you received it from Whitehall. This last week, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib, I prayed him to tell you that I was in health. All the way hitherto, we have had no thoughts of abiding, and therefore lodged in inns; but now we are come to a place where we resolve to take lodgings. I could easily tell you the name of the place,* if I thought it might do you any good to know it; but it may do me harm to have it known, even to the hazard of my life.

To all those that ask you where I am, you may answer, that you have had one letter from me, dated from Frankford, but that all my letters since, have not had the name of the place expressed. If

* Zurich.

they ask how you can write to me, you may answer, that there is a merchant of Frankford that knows how to send to me. I shall now and then send you a letter by way of Whitehall, and for them you are to pay nothing; but for such letters as come through Mr. Hartlib's hands, you must pay him for their carriage from Antwerp; for I shall make them free to Antwerp, as we did when we wrote from Breda.

When you write to me, leave your letter to Mr. Hartlib, and pray him to send it. I desire to hear of all your healths, our friends, our children, our kindred, as also to know who comes to you now to visit you, and inquire after me.

When you see Mr. Haak, tell him that I thank him for helping me to make over the money to Frankford, where it was well paid. The merchant that paid it would have me stay two days longer there, that I might have been present at the marriage of two of his daughters at once. I believe I shall have occasion, ere long, to write to Mr. Haak, to help me again for another bill of exchange.

Forget not to let me know what course is taken about your sister's house-rent, &c., as also when you were paid at Whitehall. Almighty God, who hath so safely brought us hither, protect and direct you.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

August 5, 1654, not 1653, as you write.

YESTERDAY, I received your second, bearing date July 13th, so that it was three weeks upon the way. If you would have the messengers of Whitehall careful to bring you your letters, you must give them something for their labour; and young Mr. Hartlib would have more mind of your business, if he did not think he wrought for nothing; his advice to petition my Lord President Lawrence is good; he promised me to help you whensoever you came to him. Mr. Thurloe, in his last letter to me, tells me, care shall be taken to send me money. I wrote to Mr. Haak three weeks ago; I am loath to put Mr. Haak to the charge and trouble of conveying all my letters to you. When you write to Thomas Bushy, you may give him the same directions for writing to me that I gave you in mine of June 17th. God keep you all!

Mr. Dury is gone, but I hope to see him again about a month hence.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

August 26, 1654, old style.

YESTERDAY, I received a letter dated August 3rd, in which you tell me of another of yours dated June 22nd; but I have received but three from

you in all, and those were dated June 16th, July 13th, and August 3rd.

I see you acknowledge the receiving of mine of July 8th, since which time I have written but two others to you, and those were dated July 15th and August 5th ; that of July 15th was enclosed in one of mine to Mr. Haak, which was enclosed in one from Mr. Dury to Mrs. Hartlib. Let Mary learn to cut and carve with her right hand. Take heed that John lose not his Roman with learning Secretary, or else get a rambling hand, writing neither of them well.

My service and love to Mr. Wrench, Mr Haak, &c. My duty, love, and service, to our Sussex friends.

Deliver this enclosed, and with it present my love and service. I cannot write this week to Colonel Montagu. Though M. M. say she will do well enough with her landlord, yet that is not enough for you, till she get the lease off his hands and deliver it to you ; for by that lease he may make me pay the rent many years hence. It expired the last midsummer day. You tell me of one that is dead ; if I understand you well, he was hanged ; if his father-in-law be cleared, I pray you let me hear of it.

I hope my money is received and delivered to some merchant by this time.

God all-sufficient direct and preserve you all.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

October 7.

My last to you was dated August 26th ; since that time, I have received two from you ; your fourth dated August 18th, and your fifth dated September the 1st. By that fourth, you gave me notice that you had received 200*l.*, whereof you had paid 145*l.* to Mr. Corcellis to be repaid to me by Mr. Balde of Frankfort ; but I have not yet seen any money from him, only in a letter to Mr. Dury, dated September 2nd, he tells me he is to pay 100*l.* sterling to him, and 140*l.* to me. I wrote to him for 145*l.*, and Mr. Dury tells me that he also wrote to him, claiming no less for me than 145*l.* ; whether this conference be the cause or no, I know not, but sure I am I have none of the money yet. If you sent me a bill of exchange, or of receipt, signed by Mr. Corcellis, I could by that have known what sum to demand. Now I shall be this twelvemonth, it may be, inquiring whence this difference of 5*l.* cometh.

Mrs. Dury sent her husband's 100*l.* unnibbled. I thought I had reason to look for 150*l.* You say, you sent 145*l.* ; the merchant says 140*l.* Out of 200*l.* a-year you cannot abate the fees of the money-teller, solicitor, &c. ; but out of my money you must abate 5*l.* (it may be 10*l.*) a-quarter. I have reason to thank you that you did not keep it

all ; without my order you take some, and thereby you make me uncertain of the rest.

In both your letters, you inquire when I will come home. I cannot tell you. When it pleaseth him to recall me that sent me. In the meantime, I pray you to order our affairs so that, when I do come, I may not have occasion to wish that I had always tarried abroad.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Oct. 21.

A FORTNIGHT ago I wrote to you, and enclosed one for Mr. Br. The last week, I intended to have written again, but wanting time, I only prayed Mr. Hartlib to tell you that I had received my money. But now I can find time to say, that Mr. D. received the value of 100*l.*, and I, after the same rate, received the value of 140*l.* sterling. Wherefore I expect that, in your answer to this, you let me know whence it comes that you delivered 145*l.* to Mr. Corcellis (as you write in yours of Aug. 18), and yet my merchant speaks only of 140*l.* This 5*l.* must be inquired after, for either it is in your hands, or in the hands of Mr. Corcellis, or of one of the Baldes ; and, surely, I think he of Frankford would not keep money in his hand in such a manner. I was about to write to Mr.

Haak about it, but I would first hear what you say of it.

But if I had to do with some other merchant, I might have lost the whole sum of 140*l*. For it seems it was made over to be paid to one Mr. Pellis. Why, then, should the merchant pay it to me, that had nothing to shew for it, nor ever wrote my name so, nor anybody else that I know of, till now when it most concerned to have my name written without error? Whose advice was it to give me another name than that which you and every body else superscribes on their letters which pass through the same merchant's hands to me?

Let the next be made over whole, 150*l*. sterling, with an account of the 5*l*. that I now write of, and without miscalling me. I have heard of some that steal a goose and stick down a feather. This is beyond it, to send me 10*l*. short, and make my name two letters too long.

Thus much was intended to have been written to you last week. But I have since received a letter from you without date. It tells me that you have received mine of August 26. I wrote the last week to Mr. Secretary for money. I hope you will have it by that time this letter comes to your hands. I hear Mr. Strickland is captain of the guards. It may be, Colonel Montagu hath, by this time, some new title also. Pray young Mr. Hartlib to send me word how letters are superscribed now-a-days

to that Colonel. You do not tell me how long you tarried at my uncle's. I shall endeavour to find time to write to him and some other friends.

You may remember that I told you, many years ago, that Judith would soon make everybody weary of her. I doubt you will always find it true of her, so that I know not what service you can get fit for her.

As for M. M., you can hardly fall upon a foolisher resolution than to let her come to lodge where you have power to keep her out. Your best way will be to have nothing at all to do with her for fear of *Had I wist*. God Almighty keep you!

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

December 9, 1657.

YESTERDAY, I received a letter from you, dated November 18, in answer to my last of October 21. The last week, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib, I sent you word that the 5*l*. which I wrote of were at the last paid me by order from Amsterdam. So that not Mr. Corcellis, but old Jacob Balde, of Amsterdam, was the first mistaker of 140*l*. for 145*l*., when he was casting how many rix-dollars to allow me for it; if you had left the sum of 150*l*. he could have no colour for such a mistake. I would not have my money abated, for other

reasons that you think not on. There are some that take notice what money is made over to me, and out of such observations may draw consequences of greater inconvenience than you can foresee or remedy.

Mr. Secretary, in his letter of November 10, wrote thus to me :—" Nobody yet makes any application for any of your allowances ; when they do, you shall be sure to have my assistance."

In his letter of November 17, he writes thus :—" Care shall be taken to have your money timely paid here, and I hope those you trust with the returning of it to you will be careful to do their parts in time."

I marvel that my lord president should tell you that he expected a letter from me. Neither he nor anybody else did ever express to me the desire that his lordship had to read any of my letters.

As for M. M., if any demand why you refuse to deliver the goods you may answer that I can better tell how to deliver them in such a manner as that I may be sure not to be forced to give account of them a second time.

Whensoever her son comes, you may safely answer that he never delivered any goods to you, nor will you deliver any but to his mother, and with that acknowledgment under her hand that she hath received them, lest some of them should call for them again after you had once restored them.

If she will give you such a receipt, I think you were better to let her have all away than be so often troubled with her and hers.

God direct and keep you.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

April 7.

YOURS of March 16th came to my hands whilst I was telling M. D.* that it was just a year since we had seen our wives. As soon as I opened it, you fell finding fault with the superscription of my last letter, which labour you might have spared, for I shall not learn of you how to direct my letters. A superscription is large enough if it be sufficient to make it find the way to the hands for which the letter was written ; whatsoever is more than so, oftentimes causeth letters to be broken up and miscarried, because it discovers from whence and to whom ; for which cause I strive to write in such a manner that if a stranger break up my letters he shall not understand much of the contents, nor from whom they were written. I shall not easily be brought to leave that way of writing, though you dislike it.

A fortnight ago, in a letter to M. H.† I en-

* Mr. Dury.

† Mr. Haak.

closed a note for you, that so you might know that I had received money mentioned in yours of February 23rd and March 2nd. I cannot dislike your care of the children's education, but I do not perceive that any endeavour or contrivance of yours will much help towards the procuring of considerable portions for them, and therefore you may do well to leave that care to whom it belong. What I have already written to Mr. Thurloe will, I hope, be sufficient for the procuring of timely payment. I pray you let the enclosed be delivered. God keep you !

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

July 14, 1655.

THAT my last of May 26th is come to your hands I perceive by yours of June 15th, which I received ago ; at which time also I received the money that you delivered to the merchant in London, May the 25th. Three other merchants (each of them neglecting one post-day) have been six weeks doing that which might have been done in three. In your former letter, you tell me that you were about to keep 10*l.* of my money in your hands ; if you had done so, I should presently have written to Whitehall that you should never receive any more there for me. I shall be able to find

some other that will be content to receive money for me, and to detain none of it, without my order. I had thought that Mr. Braunsell would have written to me. I have again put Mr. Secretary in mind of the warrant of money.

I hope you remember that the box with the broken cover in my study hath Mr. Warner's papers in it. I would have you deliver it, as it is, to Mr. Thorndike, whensoever he calls for it; I have received a letter from him this week, and have answered him that, although you do not know him, yet you will make no difficulty to deliver it to himself, if he be accompanied with Mr. H. or any other whom you know; but if he send for it by a messenger unknown, and not so accompanied, tell him you must not deliver it till he bring you that letter of Mr. Thorndike's, which came to me with those papers, and was sent back to Mr. Thorndike subscribed by me, in a line or two acknowledging that porter had safely delivered them to me. If any messenger bring you that letter, take it and keep it safe to be delivered to me at my return, which shall be when it pleaseth Almighty God, to whose protection I commend you all.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

August 28, old style.

Six days ago, I received a letter from you dated August 1st, with Ab. Balde's acknowledgment that you had paid him 100*l.*; for which, three days after, I received here 420 rix-dollars, after the new rate mentioned in mine of June 31st; but you send me no word when you received it at Whitehall, nor how much you have received in all, without which account it is impossible for me to know what is due to me there, or to write clearly of it to Mr. Secretary.

You have no reason to thank the councillor that persuaded you to write to me for pearls and jewels. You tell me, you know I have rich presents,—you might do well to tell me who gave them me, when and where, and what they are, for I know none of all these. Nobody wears pearls or jewels here. If they were here to be sold, they cannot be sent safely to you in a letter through the hands of many posts, and I have no other way to send to you from hence. It would a great deal better become you to advise your daughters to cast off all thoughts of such bravery as would not be fit for them, though their father were worth twenty times as much as he is; all his just claims being reckoned with that which he hath now in his power.

This letter will come to Whitehall about the

very beginning of the parliament, so that Mr. Secretary and those about him may be so full of business that they may forget to send you this letter in due time, and then it may miscarry, which is the cause that this time I tell you no more of my mind concerning Ma. and the rest, of whom I cannot think without much sadness.

God Almighty bless them and direct you.

This week, I received a letter from General Montagu; it was dated July 21st, aboard the Naseby; he was then in good health.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

September 10, 1656, old style.

YOURS dated 14th August came to my hands 30th August, according to the usual difference of time, sixteen days from you to me, though mine to you be a little longer on the way. That letter of yours is large in excusing you for writing so seldom. July 17th, I acknowledged that I had received yours of April 23rd. You tell me that since that letter you have written, one in May, one in June, and two in July, 3rd and 28th. In the end of this last letter, you acknowledge the receipt of mine dated July 24th; in that I told you I had yours of July 4th, but I never had any from you dated in

May or June, nor any of July 28th, but one of July 10th, which you name not. I see you keep no good account of the dates of your letters ; if you mistake also in the dates of your warrants, and in the sums that you receive and pay, you will make a confusion of accounts that all the auditors in London and Westminster will not be able to rectify.

You may do well to write numbers in words at length, for I do not trust your skill in cyphering. You tell me old Mr. Ev is dead, and hath left our cousin, his widow, worth 10,000*l.*, that is ten thousand pounds ; I am afraid it was but one thousand.

Although I always accounted him much richer than he seemed to be, yet I do not believe that he was so rich as to leave her so much, besides his other legacies to his own and his first wife's kindred. I perceive Betty's nurse is dead. You have sent word of three or four old women's deaths, but of no old man till this last letter. If Mr. Bishop be alive and at his old lodging, I pray you make a journey to him, and tell him I sent you of purpose to see how he did, that you might give an account in your next letter.

My last to you was dated August 28th, in which I acknowledged that, August 25th, I had received here 420 rix-dollars, for the 100*l.* which you paid to A. B. in the end of last July, though his acquit-

tance which you sent me be a year older ; for he hath dated it July 28th, 1655, as I shall shew you when I return to you, which shall be when it pleaseth our Heavenly Father, to whom I commend you and ours.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

July 30, old style.

To yours dated July 4th, I answered the last week. The next day, I received a letter from F. Balde, of Frankford, telling me that you had paid 150 pounds sterling to his brother's son at London, for which I should shortly receive six hundred and thirty Reich-dalers, which is eighteen Reich-dalers less than ever he had sent me before for the same sum. But he tells me that the exchange is now fallen from eighty-six Hollandish shillings to thirty-five for every pound sterling ; so that I must lose one in every thirty-six. As for the eight Rix-dalers abated in the former bill of exchange, he tells me, he had laid out so much for postage of letters for me ; of which he will give me an account in his next letter. Which, no doubt, he thought would be very speedily, because you had told his nephew that you should shortly bring him so much more to make over to me. But by yours of July 10th, I see no likelihood of such hasty payment.

It may be the exchange may alter again before you get any more money for me ; so long as the exchange continues at this last rate, I lose six Hollandish stivers in every English pound more than I did any time since I last saw you. But it is to no purpose to trouble you with these matters. You will not be able to bear out the mystery of the ebbs and flows of exchange.

An hour after your foresaid letter of July the 10th, I received the money itself ; just 630 rixdalers. So that this time I cannot blame the merchants for slowness, as heretofore. They were now speedy enough, being, it seems, content with their extraordinary gains for exchange. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

January 29.

SINCE I wrote to you last, I have received two letters from you ; the one dated December 21st, the other January 18th. This last came to my hands to-day. In the former, you tell me that Mr. Haak would have me correspond with him ; he seemed to be of another mind when I saw him last. You also pray me to write to Colonel Montagu, and tell me that he hath no other title than he had when I first knew him ; but I find that there is a General Montagu, General for the sea, and I believe it is no other than he, to whom you would have me

write. He received a letter from me the 2nd or 3rd of January ; but I had not heard of that title when I wrote to him.

I have also let Mr. Secretary know how slow they are in paying you ; but by your last letter, I see that you received half your expectation in the last week of December. Mr. Corcellis hath dated his receipt the last of December. I understand not why you kept it by you till January 18th before you sent it me. In the end of the year, court payment is slow ; you may remember that, the last year, you were paid for the Michaelmas quarter but one week sooner than now ; but as you got the next payment, February 22nd, so I hope you will now get it by that time. God Almighty keep you all !

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

February 1657.

My last was dated February 5. Since that time, I have only received three from you : one dated December 23 (it should have been January 22), the second dated February 12, and a third dated February 25. This last assured me that you had received mine of February 5.

Mr. Morland hath already received the letter wherein I thanked him for visiting you, and delivering the tokens, &c. The money which you

paid to Mr. Balde, February 9, came to my hands twenty-five days after, but diminished by him and his correspondents after his new rate.

If Mr. Sayres have a son capable of my service, I believe I could provide better for him than he himself can, or his neighbours will.

Your letter tells me what you have paid Mr. Raven ; but I see no mention of it in any letter of his. You may do well to take quittances of him. I thought I had reason to expect more money from you the last time ; but I perceive I have a receiver that uses me at pleasure. You will constrain me to warn everybody to deliver no money to you for me. I perceive Mrs. Mack. hath found the way to you again. Her counsel, added to your own inclinations, will make you altogether unfit to meddle with any money of mine ; so that I shall be forced to seek some other, who will dispose of it punctually, according to my order. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Zurich, March 27.

At Geneva, February 12, I received a letter from you, without date. Here I received another from you, dated February 21, by which I perceived that you had mine of January 29 and February 5. You importune me to write to Mr. Secretary for money.

I have done it, and received promises from him. If you send me a copy of the next warrant that you receive, I shall a little the better know in what manner to write to him. You should also punctually tell me the days that you receive the money. For want of the knowledge of such circumstances, I cannot write to him as I would.

For the hundred and fifty pounds that you paid to Mr. Corcellis, December 31, I received here, March 7, six hundred and ninety rixdollars. I have written to Frankford to know why he sent me less now than ever heretofore. I might have received it sooner, but I made no haste to write for it till I was come hither.

I hope you have, before now, received as much more ; of which, if you make over one hundred to me, and deliver ten to Mr. Haak, there will be forty left, according to your letter of February 21. God keep you.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

May 26.

SINCE my last, of April 20, I have received two of yours. In them you ask advice concerning my son. If he be not fit to get long lessons by heart, he will never be fit for that school ; but you must take heed that you displease not Mr. B. by taking him away. If our friends can help you to find out a

good school for him, you may send him thither in the school vacation; or else my uncle may help you to an excuse, by pretending a desire to see him; and then (as if it were his humour in my absence to have him better grounded before he return to such a great school), he may be sent to some other school, where there are fewer boys; for in huge schools, the masters are forced to ease themselves by laying great burdens upon their scholars' memories. But it will be very hard to find a good school. God Almighty direct you, and bless him and his sisters.

MR PELL TO MRS. PELL.

July 15, old style.

THE last week, I received your first, and sent an answer in a letter to Mr. Hartlib. This week, I have received none from you. I could wish that you had made an end with your sister Makin; you know she is a woman of a great acquaintance, and no small impatience. She will not stick to rail at me and you wherever she comes.

You do not tell me why old Mr. Cooke came again to London. I desire also to know whether you have heard anything of Thomas Bushy, of Breda, by Cooke, or any other way.

This week, Mr. D. received a long letter from Mr. Hartlib. I think he now resolves to write

ordinarily to one of us. If he do, it will be no hard matter for you to write, and leave your letters with him, to be sent to our merchant at Frankford.

God Almighty keep you all.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

July 16, 1657.

LAST week, I prayed Mr. H. to tell you, that I had received three of yours, dated March 12, April 16, and June 4. Haste made me omit yours of May 7. Two days after, I received a fifth of yours, dated June 25, wherein you tell me what you received May 22. But you keep it for your use ; because, as you say, it is too little to make over, nor can you spare it. *Too little to make over?* It was not less than what you made over to me in August and in February last. Besides, I gave you no order to make it over ; but whatsoever you receive for me (be it much or little), I would have you pay it to Mr. Morland, for he knows to whom in Westminster that must be repaid which I have taken up here, and what I would have him do with the overplus, if there be any. Your second reason, *that you could not spare it*, is not much better than the first. It is not fit for me to live in that uncertainty, that I must depend on your courtesy, and never look for money till my receiver can *spare it*. Having paid

yourself so much, I hope you will now think it reasonable that I should receive four hundred pounds, before you detain any more for yourself; take heed you go not beyond what I have allowed you. If from any money of mine, without my order, you abate anything, upon what pretence soever, I shall give order that you shall touch no more of my money, but that it be paid to another, whom I may better trust. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

October 15.

SINCE my last, of July 16, I have received seven of yours, dated July 9, 15, 23, August 6, September 4, 21 (for 17), 24. The first of them tells me of a forward lad, born before his mother had been married full thirty-one weeks. The second had a note from Mr. Morland, acknowledging that he had received one hundred pounds of you. The third had nothing new. The fourth tells me that you like mine of July 16 so ill, that you may well content yourself without my letters. In it you sent me a Latin letter, inquiring whether he that wrote it will be a scholar or a 'prentice; that question will be better answered three years hence; they that will now judge of him may be very much mistaken in him; with your next, let him send me the

names of the books which he now learns at school. The fifth tells me of a linen-draper ; I hope he will not turn out a herring-man. The sixth says, you keep one hundred pounds for yourself, and four hundred I shall have. In your seventh, I found enclosed a promise, under the merchant's hand, for sending three hundred and ninety pounds ; he having paid *ten* pounds more to you, which you delivered to Mr. H., as he acknowledgeth in a letter sent by you. When I have received this money, I will send you word. In the meantime, God keep you.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

October 2, 1656.

SEPTEMBER 27, I received your long letter, dated September 12, and in it one from M., and another from an unknown hand, not sealed, and therefore you have here my answer to it unsealed. You see I refer him to you to tell him my resolution, which I hope you will be able to do without shewing him this that I now write to you.

I perceive by yours that M. hath much abated the height of her first flight. First, a rich husband, or none at all ; then, two hundred pounds a-year at least ; now, a younger brother, that hath no land, but some money in other men's hands, almost enough to purchase fourscore pounds a-year free

land. Now she hath found one rich enough for her, you must try whether he will account her rich enough for him. You may therefore tell him or her that you have order to pay him two hundred pounds upon the day of her marriage, without promise that she or hers shall receive any more from me, or by me, till I am dead. (Understand me right, I do not threaten that she shall have no more ; but I abstain from promising that she shall have more.) If this will not please, let him leave her for those that will be contented with it, or will tarry till I have appointed a greater bag of ready money for her. I believe you read his letter to me before you enclosed it in yours. In it I find not one word of conditions ; and in your long letter to me, you tell me, he will take her upon what conditions I please. If he be contented to take her so, I do hereby give you power to stop so much of the first money that you shall receive for me at Whitehall. I say, *so much* : just two hundred, and no more ; make over the rest to me hither. I will not allow any over-measure, for marriage feast or wedding-clothes, or any needless expense ; let him look upon her as fatherless, that hath no greater portion for the present ; all that she may have hereafter may be as uncertain as the legacies of uncles, and other kindred. Let him look upon you as a widow, having many other children, whose portions are also limited, and cannot, may not, be diminished

by you in favour of any one of them. Let the marriage be private. Let him give her such new clothes as he accounts fit for his wife, and as he intends, and hopes, to maintain her hereafter. If he leave it to your ordering, you will be sure to overdo it, as you have done all this while, for which I give you little thanks. Hitherto, her clothes have been the public arguments of her mother's vanity and improvidence ; henceforward, they ought to be answerable to her husband's ability and discretion. As for his promises to you what he will do for her, I care not for them ; nor will I require him to promise it again in writing, or before witnesses. If he do it of his own accord, it is well. If not, I will not urge him. Let her behaviour incline to exceed his promise, rather than to break it.

It was little to the purpose to shew his writings to you or to her. If the counsellor you write of will come to your house, you may tell him that you are not able to judge of obligations and securities ; but you have a friend, an attorney, who, if they please, shall look upon them. If they consent, send to Clifford's Inn, to Mr. Th. H., her godmother's husband. If they think not fit that he should see them, it is no great matter, let them take their course. If they have an intent to deceive you, I cannot well prescribe an antidote against scriveners' knavery.

I hope, by that time that this comes to your

hands, you will know your intended son-in-law a little better than you did when you first wrote of him to me ; otherwise, some will call you foolhardy, for matching your daughter to a man so unknown to you.

The woman whom you name in the end of your long letter does otherwise ; she hath long known, and well studied, the father and mother of her whom she would make her daughter-in-law. She knew her birth and her breeding. She hath considered her since she grew up ; and, in all this time, finds no reason why she should wish that her only son would seek no other wife.

In your long letter, you spent much of your time and paper in that which was little to the chief purpose and scope of it. All that you wrote of Ju. and Be., &c., might have been said another time soon enough. It had been more seasonable to have told me of what country he is ; where he intends to dwell when he is married ; where his elder brother lives ; where those two uncles dwell ; what reason to think they will die bachelors ; of what age he is ; how affected to the present government of England, &c. But of these things, perhaps, your next will give me better information.

In the meantime, I cannot but put you in mind of the great inconvenience which H. R. and his daughters found in the boarding of R. M. and his wife B. ; and therefore I praise not your intention

to give them two months' board ; you may be troubled to get them out.

Nor can I like your frivolous contrivance of marrying them upon such and such a day of the month. That day is best that best fits all your other conjunctures. When all requisites are ready and well ordered, then, and not before, determine your day.

In the meantime, you shall have my prayers to our Father which is in Heaven to deliver you from evil, and to direct you.

I pray you write to me by the next opportunity, though you should have nothing to write, save that you had received this. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Oct. 23, 1656.

Six weeks ago, I sent you an answer to your long letter, dated September 12th. I have seen none from you since, though I thought the nature of that business had been such as that it would have given you occasion to write again concerning him, when you came to know him better. For aught I know, he may be in debt twice as much as he saith he is worth ; and yet you both write as earnestly for him as if you had certain knowledge that he is a rich man. She thinks he will give her

five hundred pounds, but she misunderstands him. He says, he will lay out so much to buy land for her ; that is to say, the yearly rent of so much land shall be settled upon her for life. A great jointure ! Five hundred pounds will vouchsafe about five-and-twenty pounds a-year, and that she shall have from him if she outlive him, and if he be as good as his word. What portion can he expect upon such a promise. Her present portion of ready money I expressed in my aforesaid letter, dated October 2nd ; which, as I hear, lay still a week by the way, because the gentleman who used to convey my letters, being gone from home, fell sick, and was brought home in a litter, a day after the post was gone ; by which means he could not send it forward till the next week ; but I hope you now have it. In it you will find my resolution concerning all that she is like to receive from me at this time, notwithstanding her letter of September 17th, sent by another way, which I received almost a fortnight ago. That long letter of yours tells me of a letter of mine which you had received, but because you did not add the date of it, I am as uncertain as if you had said nothing. When you answer this, I pray you tell me whether you have received mine, dated July 31st, August 28th, September 10th, and October 2nd. God keep you.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Yours dated September 12th I answered largely. I hope you now have it ; it was dated October 2nd. By the last post, I wrote you another, dated October 23rd. Two days after, I received your second concerning the same business ; it was dated October 3rd. By which I perceived how backward they are at Whitehall to pay you any money ; and how forward you are to marry your daughter. So that I have reason to suspect that by this time she is married, unless the backwardness of Whitehall have laid a block in the way of your forwardness.

In mine of October 2nd, I advised you to get a quarter's money into your hands before you let them marry, by which you might avoid great inconveniences, upon which you may be cast for want of ready money. If she be not married when this comes to you, I pray you consider well what I said in mine of October 2nd concerning clothes. Leave it to the bridegroom to make such as he thinks will be fit to be worn by his wife. I hear the parliament has begun to take into consideration the vanity of gay clothes in England. It will be great folly for you to make the bride such wedding-clothes as she may not wear afterwards, unless she desire to see her husband pay much money every time that she is seen in them. For surely they will not forbid

excessive price of clothes, without setting a penalty upon all transgressors, as often as they exceed. If he make them beyond the limits of the statute that is now in hand, and his purse afterward smart for it, let him thank himself, not blame the dotage of his wife's mother, who loved to see her chickens decked in peacock's feathers. You say, they will go and live in the country; you may tell them our proverb, little cost makes a great show in a country church; besides, you may let them understand that I have allowed but a certain sum of money for that extraordinary occasion. The more they spend of it in gay clothes, feasting, coaching, &c., the less will be left of it for more serious uses. You now see that some of that money which you have spent upon her might have been spared to furnish her house, and yet she would have been no less fit for the neighbourhood where she now must dwell. He might better have taken her next sister, who is, without question, fitter for the country than this, that always dreamed of the court or city. But it is too late to speak of these things now; he hath made his choice, and you and she are pleased with it.

You tell me, how much he hopes I will give her; I have nothing to do with his hopes. If he do not account me a madman, he cannot hope that I will presently give her all that I meant to give her.

For aught I know, within a month after he is married, he may be clapped up in prison for debt, or brought before the high court of justice now erected, and may there be condemned to lose his life and all his estate ; then the old woman may receive her daughter with a great belly, and wish that so great haste had not been made to match her ; or, at least, to pay him all her portion. You will answer me that he is no such man. But I may reply, that is more than I know, or can know of him at this distance, without better intelligence than I use to find in your letters.

Of the rest of your contrivances, I told you my mind in my former. Mr. H. might have served the turn of a father in the marriage, or any other of my acquaintance, without troubling Mr. B. The choice of the day, as I wrote to you before, ought not to be made, till you have all other requisites in readiness ; or, if you would needs have an extraordinary of the year, I see not why you should prefer the day of your arriving at London ; you might as well take the day of your first lodging at that house, or your own birthday, or mine, or hers. But I doubt all this is too late ; for though, perhaps, she be not now married according to your first resolution, yet it is not unlikely she will be so before this paper come to your hands.

The rest of your letter is spent in complaints that

you want money. To which I must answer that you may thank yourself. Your allowance was sufficient for your reasonable expenses, and it is a shame that you have not laid up something in a corner to be now brought to light upon such an occasion. If I had in a like manner lived beyond the compass of my allowance, I should not now have been able to give a penny towards her marriage. As for that which is due, I account it your fault that you have it not, because you give me not such information as may enable me to write for it. But you have me in a maze of wild accounts, not sending me a copy of any warrant, or doing anything else according to my directions. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

Nov. 12, English style.

IN my last, dated October 15th, I told you that I would send you word when I received the money mentioned in the paper which came from Mr. Noel, enclosed in your letter of September 4th. The last week, I received about half of it; I shall hardly receive the rest till about a month hence. It may be, the next week I shall be more at leisure to tell you more particularly how this business has been carried; and how little reason I have to desire that

any more money should pass through the same hands. In the meantime, you shall do well to say nothing of it to Mr. Noel, or anybody else.

In your soliciting money at Whitehall, ask Morland's advice ; and take heed of being opportunely troublesome, for that may not only hurt me here, but can also make me so unwelcome there that they will avoid speaking with you.

The last post brought me yours of October 15th, with two enclosed unsealed ; and therefore I make no question you have read them. Both yours and theirs *crave consent*, but mean money ; but whom shall I trust to receive and pay it, and to give me account of the payment. Above thirteen months ago, I gave you power to stop two hundred pounds of Whitehall money ; you stopped three hundred, and threw it all into the Thames for aught I know, for in all this time, neither you nor anybody else hath given me notice that either M. or her husband ever touched one penny of that three hundred pounds. Yet I am content once more to try how you will use me in another business ; and therefore hereby give you power to stop two hundred pounds of the first money you shall receive for me at Whitehall, and pay it to the young people on the day of their marriage. I say two, not three hundred. If two hundred will not satisfy the old folks (as you call them), let them seek a match for their nephew elsewhere.

When you next speak with the uncle, you may say : “ Sir, I have received a letter from my husband, wherein he gives his consent that his daughter shall marry. I know not what he will give her husband or her children when he sees them hereafter, but he hath appointed me to pay two hundred pounds to her at the day of her marriage.”

If he be content with this offer, then you may say again : “ but I have not this money in my hands ; perhaps I shall not get it before new-year's day. By that time there will be 550 pounds due to us at Whitehall, of which sum, I hope, I shall then receive two or three hundred pounds.”

But of his answer, you will soon gather whether he be content to defer the marriage till the money be in your hand, or whether he will hasten it for fear of some new resolutions that may cross it, recalling the consent. If the marriage go on, and they must needs have a man to give her away, I pray you not trouble Mr. B. again, but take Mr. Haak, or Mr. Hartlib, or some of the uncle's acquaintance.

Presently after the marriage, the old folks will expect that the bride should begin to call them uncle and aunt ; and that you should call them brother and sister ; and therefore all your children must also call them uncle and aunt.

Let her brother write a letter to me in English, describing the marriage, time, place, and company.

I would see what he could do by his mother wit, in his mother tongue, without his mother's help. If he omit any considerable circumstance, you may supply it in a letter from yourself. Almighty God bless and direct you all.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

December 3, 1657.

To my last, of November 12th, I hope not to see your answer till sixteen days hence ; but I did hope before this to receive some other letters from you, if not in answer to mine of October 15th, yet in continuation of yours written the same day, concerning that new business of consequence as you there call it. I cannot guess why, since that time, you have omitted four post-days, and have written no more concerning that business, unless it be turned into smoke, and there be no more to be said of it, as I shall be apt to believe if I receive no letter from you next week.

Howsoever, I thought fit to write to you now, that you might know that, in my letters to Mr. Morland, I have prayed him to endeavour that, as soon as may be, you may receive 300*l.* ; that is, one whole warrant and an odd 50*l.*, due upon an old warrant. If you receive so much, I would not have you ignorant how I would have it disposed of ;

first 50*l.* to yourself, for the quarter ending with the old year ; of the remaining 250*l.*, Mr. Morland will call for ten by my order. The 240*l.* left, I would have you deliver to Mr. Haak, telling him that I pray him to keep it by him till he receive letters from me, shewing how I would have it made over to me through Germany ; for the French king having laid an arrest at Lyons upon all the merchandize and money of the merchants of this place, I dare not use the way of France. I am in danger to lose near half of that which you made over last, or, at least, to wait so long for it that I may have reason to wish that you had more punctually observed my order, which was, not to meddle with making of bargains with French merchants, but to deliver my money to Mr. Morland, whose return you should have expected. He would have made use of other hands that would have sent it me roundly all at once ; so that I should not have been put to so much trouble for the first 200*l.*, and, perhaps, I must undergo a hundred times more for the remaining 190*l.*

But if the business you wrote of go on, I would not have you deliver that 240*l.* to Mr. Haak, but only 10*l.*, which I have given him order to call for. The other 230*l.* you keep in your own hand, namely, 200*l.* to be disposed of according to my letter of November. I am content to try how you will manage the odd 30*l.*, and what a trim account you will give me of it.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

December 4, 1657.

FOUR days ago, I received at once three letters from you, with a copy of a warrant in one of them. The letters were dated October 23rd, October 31st, and November 4th. In them you have received mine of August 28th, September 10th, and October 2nd ; but you say nothing of mine dated July 31st. You tell me, I make no mention of John's epistle, sent in May. I saw no such ; but in July 19th, I received one from you, dated July 4th, in which was an epistle from him, dated July 2nd ; of which I made mention in my answer, July 24, which you received, as you confess in yours dated August 14th.

You say, you hope I am not *angry* that you write about jewels. No, but I am very sorry that you are no wiser ; and that it is which makes me sad always, when I think upon the children, because they are so foolishly educated with their heads full of vanities, dreaming of great matters that their father will do for them. If that hope fail, what will become of them, that have been so vainly and idly bred ; how heavily will they then set themselves to get their living honestly, by their own industry ? Such thoughts were fit for your condition and theirs, rather than empty imaginations of castles in the air. Methinks you should also think it unreasonable that all that can now be spared should be

squandered away upon the eldest, as if the rest were not of the same kindred. But by yours of November 4th, I perceive you are resolved to do what you list, without any regard to what I prescribe.

You would have me write to G. Mo., which I have not leisure to do this week ; nor would I have written to you now, but that I was willing that you should know that I had, at the last, received those three letters. God keep you.

Thus much I had written last week, but had not time to send it then. I have now time to tell you further that, December 6th, I received another from you, dated November 13th ; wherein you speak as if you were likely to receive money within a day or two, and intended to have the marriage upon November 27th ; so that I may now reckon that it is past, for, you say, M. R. presseth and hasteneth it. But if, according to your former letters, he and his then came to abide in your house till next Ladyday, you may have cause to think those four months very long ones.

I am sorry to hear of Mr. Sadler's indisposition. Return my respects to S. W. Dr., and all others that enquire of my health. Adieu.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

December 17, English style.

IN mine of December 3rd, I wrote that I was in danger to lose near half of that money which you had left in Mr. Noel's hands for me; but now I dare tell you that I hope that danger is past, yet I see no sign that I shall receive it here before December 24th.

Since the last post-day, a minister's widow of this city hath sent me a little money, praying me to make it over to her son at Cambridge. He came into England with Mr. Dury, to whom I have written this week concerning that money. I pray you therefore pay 5*l.* English to Mr. Dury as soon as you can; if he be not in town, you may pray Mr. Hartlib to send it to Cambridge by the first opportunity.

I expect your letters, assuring me that mine of October 15th, November 12th, December 3rd, are come to your hands, as well as this.

MR. PELL TO MRS. PELL.

February 5, old style.

You have received mine of December 11th, and I have received your large letter, dated the same day. In it you make mention of a letter written

by you the week before, that is to say, December 4th, which I have received, as I have given notice to Mr. Morland, through whose hands it ought to pass ; but, I doubt, it missed him, so it is lost, and with it, all your account concerning the money and marriage, &c. And therefore I know not what you have done in it, save that yours of December 11th tells me that you are gone beyond your allowance, but it says not how much.

I have also received a note from you, dated December 15th, with letters from the new married couple ; it will be time enough to answer them when I hear that they are returned out of the country. In the meantime, you may advise Mr. Raven to take some occasion to make himself known to Mr. Morland.

Five days ago, I received a letter from you, dated June 8th, by which I perceived that they were not yet returned out of the country, nor had Mr. Morland then delivered my letter to you of November 17th.

Send not the next money through Frankfort, but through Geneva, by the hands of the merchant that conveys all our letters now. Mr. Morland lodged in his house at Geneva, and therefore you must crave his direction for the finding out his correspondents in London.

I am glad to hear of our Suffolk friends. I pray

you continue fair correspondence with those of Sussex also.

John is now thirteen years old; Almighty God bless him, and his sisters, and his mother.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Charing Cross, Dec. 14, 1655.

SIR,—Your last was of fourteen lines, from Geneva, November 6. The letters come no more so currently (as Mr. Ulrich here complains) as they were wont to do out of Switzerland. Therefore, at this time, I shall not communicate any state-matters, but only tell you what Mr. Borel, the Frenchman, writes unto me from Paris, Nov. 15, 1655:—*Libenter quædam audirim de Arte Volandi, si quædam Domino innotescerint. Habemus librum novum de Arte Volandi; credo esse ex Anglico traductum.* Thus far he, who is a most curious wit. I pray remember my service to Mr. Morland,* and acquaint him with this passage, and what you learn from him be pleased to communicate the same unto me. For he hath professedly studied this point and made many experiments in it, as himself confessed to him who subscribes himself ever your most faithful, assured friend to serve you,

S. HARTLIB.

* Morland was not yet returned from Switzerland. The art of flying was a subject to which much attention was paid by the mechanicians of this period.

MR. PELL TO

July 17-27.

SIR,—Five days ago, I received from you a letter dated Dantzic, Junii 17th, containing a letter from Mr. Comenius, dated the 22nd of May, wherein he describes the sad estate of those protestants that escaped from Lesna, where he, for his own part, besides his writings, lost in money, books, and household stuff, above three thousand reichs-dalers, (near seven hundred pounds sterling.) He had, with incredible labour and no small journeys, gotten the favour of some liberal persons, and hoped, perhaps, to leave his children two hundred pounds a-piece, which, among so many poor exiles, would have seemed great riches. I hear he is sixty-five years old ; and, it seems, hath nothing left but the clothes on his back. Those papers which have been found in the ashes and rubbish of Lesna, since he fled thence, are little worth in comparison of those which he accounts irrecoverably lost. Every body that reads his letter will not understand *Unitatis Bibliothecas*, though you and I know he means two libraries belonging to the Bohemian reformed churches which are called *Fratres Unitatis*. The burning of those libraries must needs be an inestimable and, indeed, irreparable loss to them. Four days ago, I shewed his letter to two Bohemian ministers that were newly come hither ; they said, that the

inhabitants of Lesna had promised one another to abide there and not to remove any of their persons or goods to any safer place, lest they should seem to forsake those that had no means to fly, especially Comenius, whose ecclesiastical relation obliged him, as their ancientest pastor, to stay by his flock in the midst of so many hungry and enraged wolves. They did not fear that he would abandon them as long as his books and writings were not sent from thence. Thus they have lost both his manuscripts and their own records, &c., which might have deserved an exception from their general resolution of sending nothing out of Lesna.

I should have been willing to read over his refutations of the Copernicans and Cartesians, but with that prejudice that I do not believe him to be a competent judge of all the differences between them and other writers. And therefore, of all his papers, there is none for whose loss I am less sorry; though he say of them, "*me valde dolet, siquidem in iis multum posueram operæ et diligentia.*" I have caused his letter to be fairly written out, and have sent it to the divines (pastors and professors) of Zurich, who esteem him, and have introduced his *Janua** into their higher school some years ago. I make no question but they will do something for

* The celebrated and once popular school-book, entitled *Janua Linguarum*, of which Comenius was the author.

him. When you hear whither he has gone, and what place he resolves to settle in, I pray you give notice of it to

Your well-known friend and servant.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Aug. 7, 1656.

SIR,—Last Thursday, I sent unto you, the second time, that which the Lord Medminsky did send to the King of Sweden, and was transmitted to me that it might be imparted to his highness. I hope you will not fail to give me notice of it as soon as it is come to your hands. Two days ago, I received your last of the 17th of July, which was very refreshing. Here you have the *Visiones Lesnenses*. The *Excidium* is to follow by the next post, God willing. I have also received from Mr. Comenius * fresh letters dated at Hamburg, as also from Schmidt, of which you shall have copies in due time. Only continue to refresh me with some large letters of your own now and then. I have given a full account this afternoon concerning Morus to

* The celebrated John Amos Comenius, a protestant divine of Moravia, who is well known as the author of various works of use in education. He was born in 1592, and suffered much in the various persecutions of the Moravian and Polish churches.

Mr. Ulrich's son, which I have procured from Amsterdam, according to that memorial which Mr. Ulrich's father sent unto him. And though the answer be nothing but truth, yet the answerer of it desires to be concealed, though you should be able to guess at him. Mr. Dury has returned to Amsterdam, and promises with all possible expedition to hasten unto us, and it is very like Mr. Comenius will come along with him to

Your well-known faithful friend to serve you.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Dec. 3, 1657.

SIR,—I know nothing so pertinent to be added for the present to the enclosed, as to tell you that the great Swedish-Danish news, of which I wrote last Thursday, is no more confirmed, neither by shipping nor any of the posts. Only of Fueren the last letters speak as if it would shortly be in the possession of the Swedes. Mr. Downing is sent as envoy to the states-general. The House of Lords is to be called the House of Peers. I labour with all the interests I have that Mr. Brer. may receive a hint. His father is still so cross that they cannot be married. After I had sealed my letter to you on Thursday last and sent it away, Mr. Dalyarno brought me that which he had promised for you.

I having superscribed it with my own hands, sent it to Mr. Morland, who promised it should be sent with all care. I last, as long as I am able to write,
Sir, yours unfeignedly to serve you,
S. H.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Dec. 31, 1657.

SIR,—Here you have a large representation of foreign affairs from no vulgar hands. The other papers contain likewise many notable passages, and not unworthy your best considerations. In my last, I told you of the sad Providence befallen my lord president's * family, his eldest son, Mr. Edward Lawrence, dying of the small-pox within six or seven days. I have not heard how Mr. Secretary doth this day, but the two or three days foregoing, he was so sick as that he was forced to keep his bed. Mr. Rich, who lately married one of my Lord Protector's daughters, is said also to be very sick. Mr. Downing went from hence last week. There was a report of the departure of Mr. Rous, but it proved only to be his wife, who was near a hundred years old. Dr. Worthington is married, and Vice-chancellor of Cambridge.

* Henry Lawrence, president of the privy council. Milton wrote a sonnet on his son's death, beginning,

“ Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son.”

Next week, God willing, I shall impart unto you a copy of his letter which I got from him yesterday. Mr. Boyle* writes from Oxford :—"The Universal Character Dr. Wilkins† has now brought to that perfection that he is pleased to promise me sometime next week to shew it to Dr. Ward‡ and me together, that it may be jointly considered by us all ; and if he be as wary in his affirmations about it as he used to be about other things, I make no doubt but it will be found extraordinarily ingenious, though I confess I yet distrust the practicableness of it in divers cases." Thus far he.

Last Thursday, as I told you, I received your letter from Mr. D. to Mr. Mor. which I sent away the day after. My pains come upon me, and therefore I must hasten to subscribe myself, Sir,

Your ever faithful friend to serve you,

S. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

January 14, 1658.

SIR,—I have been most wonderfully tormented these three or four days of the stone piles, but especially of the ulcerative ; the inflammation of it

* The famous Robert Boyle, who was one of Hartlib's constant correspondents.

† The celebrated Bishop Wilkins, who was, during the protectorate, warden of Wadham College.

‡ Afterwards professor at Gresham College.

was grown to such an extremity this night, that I had taken fully my leave of this world ; but behold I live again, the Lord having turned wonderfully the sharpest pains to so much ease and mitigation, as that I am able to testify to you also my wonted respects. All my former, for many weeks together, have been fraughted with considerable papers, of which you are pleased to acknowledge the receipt in your last, which was December 17-27th, of mine November 18th. By the very next post, I hope you have received (for it was sent from hence) Dalyarno's own letter, a large one written by him, wherein his whole invention is discovered unto you. I long to hear of the safe receipt of it. By what you write of *Censura Paradigmatis a Leunschles*, methinks I have known the author at Eleutheropoli. The city-statesmen here begin to talk as if my Lord Richard, the eldest son to his highness, is to be made k.,* and that very shortly, his father remaining still Lord Protector till the government be more and more settled. I have heard no more of Mr. Ulrich, but that he was like to remain at Calais to exercise chirurgery. I am, as long as I am able to stir either my heart or hands,

Sir, yours most faithfully to serve you,

S. H.

N.B. A word, I pray, of the receipt of this packet.

* So it is in the original, apparently an abbreviation for king. Hartlib's handwriting is not always easy to decypher.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

January 28, 1657-8.

SIR,—Though I be full of pains, yet it is some comfort that I am so far supported as that I can continue my respects of writing and communicating. I hope all my former, with considerable papers, are safely arrived. I long to see your apprehensions and affections of and towards Mr. Dalyarno's Universal Character.* Last Thursday, I sent you a large extract out of Mr. Mor.'s letter. I pray remember to take notice of a pretty book, just now brought to my hands from Oxford, called "Observations upon some part of Sir Francis Bacon's Natural History, as it concerns Fruit-trees, Fruits, and Flowers, especially the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries ; improving the Experiments mentioned to the best advantage, by Ra. Austin, Practiser in the Art of Planting, Oxford, 1658," in 4to, pp. 46. Mr. Comen sent me one printed sheet last week, "*De Principis Transylvaniæ Ruina (ejusque occasione, De Libro Lux in Tenebris) Judicium Amici ad Amicum.*" I suppose he will send some copies also to Zurich. Parliament is met before my Lord Protector at Whitehall, to be reconciled ; the

* George Dalyarno published at London, in 1661, a work entitled, *Ars Signorum, vulgo Character universalis, et Lingua Philosophica.*

Commons refusing to acknowledge the House of Lords. His highness made a most pathetic speech, shewing a necessity of laying aside formalities, and to mind to the protestant interest beyond seas, and the settling of the commonwealth at home. If I can get a copy, which will be somewhat hard, I purpose to send you a transcript, as being ever

Your most humble and faithful friend to serve you.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

February 4, 1658.

SIR,—Since my last of January 28th, I received your last of January 17th. I see by it that you have missed, between Nov. 26th and Dec. 10th, one of my packets, containing a large but sad relation of the Transylvanian affairs, with some observations of Mr. Beale's, the Herefordian,* on *Lux in Tenebris*, the packet being dated December 3rd. I am glad that Dalyarno's letter (the date should have been November 26th) is come safe to your hands; he is much your servant, and ready to give you further satisfaction to

* John Beale was born in Herefordshire, in 1603, and was the author of various books on gardening and agriculture. His *Treatise on Fruit Trees* went through several editions. In 1657, he published "The Hereford Orchard, a pattern for the whole of England," of which a new edition appeared in 1724. He made many communications to the Royal Society between 1666 and 1677.

any objections or demands that you shall please to make at any time. My Hereford friend (with whom I correspond weekly, both by post and carriers) is Mr. John Beale, once fellow of King's College in Cambridge, now minister of the gospel near Hereford. Thus I use to superscribe my letters with this addition,—“to be left at Dr. Harford's house in Hereford.” Whenever you shall make your application unto him, whether I be alive or dead, I know you will be most welcome and valuable unto him; for my part, I cannot put a sufficient rate upon him; he is a very honest man, and an universal, solid, and most real scholar. Concerning dreams and antichrist, none hath studied that point so professedly and accurately as he hath done it, which subjects he hath imparted unto me several shares; of some of which I have given a copy to Mr. Duret, who is even transported or ravished with his work. I have received above six sheets of his Art of Memory; for he is like to perform more that way also than ever Caleb Morley hath undertaken; of this and of all his other communications (which are not a few) you shall have a perfect share in them. It may be, I shall find somebody that shall serve the mechanical paradoxa here adjoined, as hath been done with the *Mille Paradoxa Mathematica*.

My Lord Protector's last speech, though desired

by the Commons, will not be printed. I shall endeavour to send you a true copy. Mr. Secretary sent one of it to the Swedish ministers here. *Vale et salve.*

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

February 4, 1657-8.

SIR,—Here you have the promised letter, mentioned in mine of Thursday last, from the goldsmith's journeyman. The Swedish minister here is advertised from the Hague, that the states of Holland have forbidden the praying for the Prince of Orange in public. In mine of February 4th, I imparted unto you an extract of Mr. Beale's letter of January 18th, concerning wines;* he continues as followeth:—"I am very much delighted in the German Augustus Haubtman's philosophy; he searcheth the foundations and depths of nature; he spurs on our desires for more of his writings. I wish we could know what he hath found in his further experiments concerning wines; and in that point, I would rather hear of their experiences than of their reasons. Surely you did mistake my words concern-

* Hartlib, in a letter to Robert Boyle, printed in Birch's edition of that philosopher's works, dated April 8th, gives a long extract from Pell's answer to this letter of Beale on the winy liquors.

ing wines ; for I said, I would not discourage others, but I undertake to raise richer wines from the wildest English fruit which will bear abundantly in hilly and waste grounds, than can be raised from any English grape which hath been ripened by the multiplied rays of reflexing walls, and our wild fruit carries the general applause. This I must shortly enlarge and explain to Mr. Austin ;* and I believe I shall prevail with my Lord Scudamer and with W. Pyet† to give you a full proof of it in London before as many witnesses as you please.” The letter is dated February 5th, 1657-8.

Every hour we are now expecting to know the effects of the great debates now at Whitehall, continued for some days without any determination whether a parliament or no parliament.

I rest, ever your very faithful and assured friend
to serve you, S. H.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

February 11, 1658.

SIR,—On Thursday last, I sent away my letter to Mr. Morland about six o'clock; half an hour

* The author of the work before mentioned, see p. 437.

† The Scudamores and the Pyes were Herefordshire families.

after, I received the news of the parliament being dissolved. I durst not make another letter to signify the same, hoping also that some of the public persons would acquaint you with so sudden and great a matter ; but believe it, it was of that necessity that, if their session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood, both in city and country, upon Charles Stuart's account. An army of twenty thousand might have appeared with an ugly petition (for the re-establishing of Charles Stuart), presuming they should find a party amongst them ; whilst another army of ten thousand men was landing in England by the jealousy (to say no worse) of our good neighbours. Besides, there was another petition set on foot in the city for a commonwealth, which would have gathered like a snowball ; but by the resolute sudden dissolving of the parliament, both these dangerous designs were mercifully prevented. Whether we shall have another parliament shortly, or a grand council of only optimates in the meantime, we cannot tell. All the officers of the army attended his highness on Saturday last in the banqueting-hall, where they were entertained with a speech of two hours long, which made them afresh to resolve to stand and fall, live and die, with my Lord Protector. Here you have his highness's two last speeches to both houses, as they were taken at his elbow ;

there is much *nonsense*,* &c., in the last, but there are very few men yet that have any copy at all of them. My faithful correspondent† answers thus :—
“I cannot be unwilling that my name should be known to the worthy Mr. P., but I am much more desirous that my heart were able to serve him. If you communicate my loose discourses, that the truth may not lose due lustre by my defect, I entreat you to represent that the discourse of anti-christ was written as a letter at one hasty draught ; the discourse of dreams was a collection out of holy records, and some little experience at the first dawning of that kind of light, with which I am now much more practically and experimentally acquainted ; and I dare say that very many Christians who serve the Lord with fasting, alms, and prayers, in the day of great distresses, do find the presence of the Lord in dreams ; if I should deny it, I should deny God’s merciful providence towards me in the preservation of my life, and in other near concernments. I know not to what purpose I or any man should devise these things if they wanted truth.” The letter is dated February 5th.

* He means nonsense arising from its being a faulty and incorrect copy.

† Mr. Beale, see before p. 438.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Feb. 18, 1658.

SIR,—Though I voided yesterday ten stones (five or six pretty big ones), and this day, three great ones, yet I am able, God be thanked, to continue my writing respects. Last Thursday, I sent a packet with many considerable papers, my Lord Protector's two speeches in Whitehall, &c., which I shall long to hear how they arrived. On Tuesday last, Mr. Rich* (who lately married one of my Lord Protector's daughters) departed this world at Whitehall. Nothing is yet visible of the great consultations in secret as to a council of optimates, or the calling of a new parliament, &c. My Lord Richard is made one of the colonels of the army, and, perhaps, shortly is to be made general of it. Mr. Comen writes with others of a Swedish victory obtained in Schonen, (Scania;) but last Thursday night, there arrived an express from our resident Downing at the Hague, that the King of Sweden hath beaten also the army in Fueren, taking prisoner the general, and is now master of that whole island, and of eight Danish men-of-war which

* The honourable Robert Rich, grandson of Cromwell's stanch friend the Earl of Warwick, married the Lady Frances, youngest daughter of the Protector. He died on the 16th of February, 1657-8, about two months after his marriage, to the great grief of his father, and of his father-in law.

he found there frozen in. He writes also, that the Swedish general in Livonia, De la Gardie, hath beaten the Polonian army near Riga. The King of Sweden hath written with his own hand, that the peace is made between him and Muscovia. We long extremely for the confirmation of Mr. Downing's news, but the post of last week is not yet arrived. At Whitehall, the news is firmly believed, for he would not send, as he writes, the express, till the news were confirmed. Mr. Brereton delivers to me a commission as follows :—" I pray let Mr. P. know in your next, that though I have been pentied as to him these two years, and almost a half, yet I have hope I shall shortly write to him ; the cause of my silence hath been my continued distraction, which some interpret madness, but it seems not so to me as yet." The letter is dated, at Brereton, February 3rd, 1657.

Yesterday was brought unto me an excellent discourse, whose translation I much desired, called an answer to two Danish papers, the one called *Jus Finale armata Dania* ; the other, a manifesto faithfully translated out of the Latin original, which was published by the King of Sweden. *Vale et salve.*

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

Feb. 25, 1657-8.

SIR,—I am risen again this day as it were from my grave, it being now also apparent that I have as well the stone in the bladder as in the kidneys, both which do put me into inexpressible torments. I void still every day five, six, or seven stones, pretty big ones, and some of them very white. But as long as I am able to stir or breathe in any measure, I shall not fail, God supporting me in it, to continue my sincere and faithful respects unto you. Since mine on Thursday last, I received yours of January 21st, with a commission to your wife, which part of the letter I cut off, and sent it with all care unto her. I also sent a messenger with the enclosed letter to the journeyman goldsmith, who was found out according to your direction, promising to bring an answer himself unto me at this day ; if it comes before this be sent away, you shall find it here adjoined with Mr. M.'s, which I received by the last post. I hope you have received the remainder of all my letters and papers, which I have not failed to impart weekly. I wish your leisure would serve to take some of them into your best consideration, by way of animadversions or observations. The London accounts have letters that the King of Sweden is residing at Copenhagen ; but the

post of this week is not yet arrived, which, if it be true, will, no doubt, bring the confirmation to

Your very faithful servant,

S. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

March 11, 1657-8.

SIR, — I have received a commission from Hereford in these words :—“ I dare tell Mr. Pell, in God's name, that the work which God hath put into his hands is the Protector's glory, and one of the best grounds of his preservation by God's outstretched arm ; and I do believe, that this generation shall not pass away before the reformation shall be refined as gold in a furnace, and then appear in far greater lustre, to the acknowledgment of multitudes of Mahometans and idolaters. For when our guises of faction and garbs of human inventions are laid aside, and our hearts brought to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God, as in Micah, vi., then we shall best and most fully be taught of God, as is promised, Heb. viii.; and yet be no despisers of the outward ministers of the word, as it is builded up in true holiness.” Thus far Mr. Beale. Mr. Comenius hath answered at last to our main query, for he writes :—“ *Quod attinet invitationem exulium gentis nostræ in Hiberniam conditionesque forte requirendas rogabam*

Dr. Rulitium ut perscriberet, quas etiam leges in epistola ejus. Ego quidem a nostris dispersis nondum in hoc puncto responsum habeo, at quid sit facile intelligo, nempe spes recollectionis in Patria quam plerique pertinaciter foveant, et in his (ut verum fatear) ego quoque."

What Mr. Rulice writes is here adjoined. I do not well remember whether I have already imparted those passages unto you ; I am sure not these following. M. de Gerre invites two of the with Figulus to come to Amsterdam, as also Drabicius. He will also give all the profits that come from Mr. Comen's didactical work in folio (which is now abroad), to pay for the printing of the bible in the Polish language. Mr. Comen, to retire himself to give himself wholly to his *Pansophia*, goes this Spring (March 8th) to be at Monsieur de Gerre's house for a certain time,* where he is provided for

* Comenius was a great dreamer and enthusiast. He spent much of his time on what he called *Pansophia*, or, a new method of teaching youth ; of which he first published a specimen, under the title of *Pansophiæ Prodromus*. By this publication, he reaped so much fame that he was invited into England, just before the breaking out of the civil wars. He spent the latter part of his life at Amsterdam, where, after many vicissitudes, he had taken shelter from persecution. He published there, in 1657, the different parts of his new method of teaching, at the expense of Lawrence de Geer, whose father, Charles de Geer, a noted Swedish scholar, had formerly supported him in Sweden. He died at Amsterdam, in 1671. Comenius published many wild notions concerning Antichrist.

as a prince, but nobody knows he is there, but we three, and one of Comen's amanuenses. The particulars in the printed news were sent by the Swedish minister, Appelbrem, to the Swedish ministers here. The peace is certainly concluded between Sweden and Denmark. O wonder! Of our public affairs, I hear nothing to add, but that they are passed the civil council, and if they be passed also by the council of war, we shall know, it may be, suddenly the particulars. *Vale et salve.*

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

March 18, 1657-8.

SIR,—Last Friday, I signified the beginning of the great work which the Lord hath wrought towards my health. The weather is still exceeding fierce, and liker a winter than a spring, yet all this while I am rather grown better than worse. But who should have thought that a delegate from twenty poor and distressed families should have been the instrument of my recovery, or any sent to his highness from the confines of Bohemia, to solicit a collection for them, which also hath been granted, they being added to the number of the other Polonian and Bohemian exiles.* But thus the only

* The protestants who had fled from the persecutions which raged there.

faithful God delights to shew mercy, and to make good his promises to all such whom he hath enabled to believe and perform the conditions of them, especially of that in the psalm, “Blessed is he that considereth the poor,” &c. The Lord continue this blessing to a perfect work. I long to hear whether all my letters, accompanied with many choice papers (amongst so many inundations, &c.), are come safe to your hands. I pray let me know the dates of every one of them. Here you have a confiding letter, written by Mr. Beale to Mr. Comen, of whom I gave you a large account in my last. To me, he adds, “This last week, I have twice read the book of Drabicius,* and I cannot at all doubt but, in the main, God is in it. Howsoever, by the good man’s defect of memory and other human frailties, it may have some misapprehensions or misapplications.” Thus far he. The Swedish successes were sent last week by Mr. Downing to his

* This Drabicius was a wild enthusiast, who had dreams of the vengeance which was to fall upon the house of Austria, for their enmity to the reformed churches. He formed a great friendship with Comenius, who partook of the same species of enthusiasm, and together they went preaching war through Hungary and Transylvania. Comenius collected the dreams of Drabicius, and, in 1657, published them at Amsterdam, under the title of *Lux in Tenebris*, the work so frequently mentioned in Hartlib’s letters. Drabicius was persecuted by the court of Austria, and is said, in the end, to have been burnt, though his real fate is very uncertain.

highness, and by Apelbreme, at the Hague, to the Swedish minister here, as he had received them from the king, his master. And since, they have been confirmed out of Fueren, by Colonel Jepson ; so that we need not doubt of the certainty of them, for all the abominations of the lies of the Dutch. A wrong vessel, next to another where Ormond was in, was seized upon, else he had been caught.* The adjoined should have been sent last week, but it came too late to the hands of

Your most faithful friend to serve you,

S. H.

* Ormond had been sent over by Charles Stuart to obtain certain information of the strength of his adherents, and to assist in organizing the plot, which, had it not been prevented by Cromwell's vigilance, would soon have broken out. It was on this occasion that occurred the anecdote told by Lord Broghill, who was one of the Protector's intimate friends :—Ormond came in disguise ; took lodgings in a mean house in the city ; and was commissioned, if he found an occasion, to endeavour to gain over Broghill himself. But Cromwell was perfectly well acquainted with all Ormond's movements. One day the Protector met Broghill in the gallery at Whitehall. " Well, Broghill," says he, " so I understand there is an old friend of yours come to town." Broghill asked, in surprise, " Who is that?" " The Marquis of Ormond," was the reply. Broghill protested that he was entirely ignorant of the matter. " I know that very well," said the Protector ; " but he is here, and lodges in such a place ; and, if you have a mind to save your old acquaintance, let him know that I am informed where he is, and what he is doing." Broghill went to the place which Cromwell had pointed out, and found Ormond, on whom the hint was not thrown away.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

March 25, 1658.

SIR,—These three weeks, I have seen no letters from your hands. On Thursday last, I told you of a beginning, which hath been again terribly shaken by fits of two or three days, occasioned by the drinking of a muddy and strong ale. Mr. Carter (whom you observed to me so like Dr. Preston) died of the wind colic about four or five days since : a great loss, being a public-hearted man, and a very sober and judicious divine. Mr. Beale proposes thus :—“ I crave leave to trouble your dear daughter (Clodius*) with one inquiry upon a point of good housewifery. Bread and drink are the two chief pillars and fundamental necessities of a good housekeeper. Now, here, in this country, where none but the best gentry and some foremost houses do brew beer or ale, being generally accustomed to cider, we are often distressed for want of barm to bake our bread. Leaven is not in use among us, as too harsh and sour. Hence I inquire, how we shall bake our finest bread without barm, as they do in France and Italy, and all over the southern world, where there is an excellent variety of bread, and no barm at all.” Thus far my real philosopher. Mr. Rulice continues to commend Mr. de Gerre in these words :—“ I still

* Clodius, the chemist, so often mentioned in these letters, seems to have married Hartlib's daughter.

more and more admire the zeal and piety of that admirable man. I must tell you, *in aurem*, if Comen do not mention it, he hath called also Figulus, with his family, hither, and will maintain him only to assist his father-in-law, and to know all concerning *pansophia*, that if Comen should die, or be carried away, he may finish it. Truly, I do daily admire God's singular providence in bringing Comen hither to this new jewel. There is no prince or state in the world who would have assisted him so really, and furthered all these things, as he doth. I doubt not but God will from Heaven pour down his blessings upon him. Just now, I heard that one of our preachers here had been still railing against Comen. What! such a man to come and prescribe us a new method here! And, oh! what a crime it is, in his eye, that he published *Lux in Tenebris!*" Thus, in our greatest triumphs, we have our checks. There will be either no parliament no more, or a parliament upon a sudden.

Thus I rest, ever your very faithful servant,

S. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

April 1, 1658.

SIR,—In my last, I told you that I was surprised again with all my tormenting diseases, especially the pains of the ulcer, which was like to prove the

truest harbinger of death. But these twenty-one days, I have begun to mend, for which I am bound to acknowledge the goodness of God. My son Clodius remembers his humble service, and presents himself to be much your servant; and so I assure you he shall be more and more, with all his philosophical hopes. He is looked upon as a very sure physician; and, having been very successful in the cures of many desperate diseases, he is gotten into great credit and practice among our great ones. I have begged of him to impart to you the true preparation of the medicine of goat's blood, held by many as the most sure and only sovereign way to cure and prevent the stone. The Helvetian goats are judged the best for this medicine; and thereof we shall entreat, that when you cause it to be prepared, that you will please to bestow a good quantity hither upon us. The secret of the said preparation you shall have either by this or the next post, God willing. There is come forth a Greek-English lexicon, containing the derivations and various significations of all the words in the Greek Testament, with a complete index, in Greek and English, annexed thereunto; whereunto is added a praxis, or an explanation, of the twentieth chapter of Romans, and the Greek dialects contained in the Greek Testament. By T. C., late of C. C. C., in Oxford. London: printed and are to be sold by Ludowick Lloyd, near the Castle, in Cornhill, 1658, in great octavo, about

five shillings price ; the words *in ordine alphabetico* ; so that there is still a better place left for the lexicon (Greek and English) of your own contrivance, which hath been, and is still, so passionately desired, and will be yet of more universal use. The great counsels at Whitehall are not yet determined, but will be within a few days, for another parliament, as is generally apprehended, and by him also who is ever,

Sir, your most faithful servant,

S. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

April 15, 1658.

SIR,—April 8th, I acknowledged the receipt of your last, of March 18-28, wherein you promised to write to Mr. Beale. He is one of a thousand for all manner of solid and useful knowledge and experience ; a man of a most excellent spirit ; and therefore I would advise you to find time (as you proposeth) to write unto him, according to the pattern of divine love—*Ipse dilexit prior*. By some of the adjoined papers, you will see how kindly he hath entertained your communications through me. Mr. Haak presents his hearty civilities, entreating me to let you know that I had seen the acquittances sent by Mr. Morland. I hope you have received mine, wherein was enclosed a letter from Mr. Morland. Mr. Secretary hath promised to pay, very

shortly, a considerable part of your arrears. For the present, I cannot have a more sovereign medicine for the stone than that which I now use, through God's blessing, with so great success, of which more hereafter. Of our public affairs, nothing yet known when a parliament shall be called, only a general securing of all the cavaliers throughout all England.

I rest ever, Sir, your most assured faithful
servant, SAM. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

April 22, 1658.

SIR,—I hope you receive all mine, which I have not failed to send weekly, with many considerable papers. Since your last, of March 18-28, I received none from your hands. Here you have the continuation of Mr. Beale's letter, in answer to the extracts of some of your last. I have nothing to add, but that your natural weather-glass (I mean your weather-wise toad) is very considerable, but somewhat short, and would be more largely explained. First, what those colours and varieties of appearance were. Second, what alterations they did portend, whether rain, storms of wind, change of heat and cold; all those, or only some one of them. Third, how the toad was maintained, fed, or kept alive in that cell. I pray vouchsafe your answer, if you can, to those

particulars. We are still troubled with the old royal political toads.* Stapeley† (once a member of the council of state), vice-admiral of Sussex, is close prisoner, there being no less than four commissions from Charles Stuart found in his study. Dr. Chenel is said to have begged the life of Dr. Hewit.‡ Both Howard and Stapeley, to save their lives, are the more ready to discover the rest of their fellow-conspirators. The Earl of Peterborough's brother§ will go to pot ; but the Lord Bellasis|| (now prisoner at Windsor) is like to be the first man to be tried before the High Court of Justice. All the gentry of Sussex are suspected to have been in the plot. It was not so strongly and universally contrived as it hath been again as strongly and uni-

* This letter adds something to our information on the great plot against the Protector in 1658, in which the republicans had been brought to make common cause with the royalists ; and to organize which, Charles Stuart had sent the Earl of Ormond into England.

† The person concerned in this plot was John Stapeley, son of the Stapeley who had been a member of the council of state.

‡ Dr. Hewit was an episcopal clergyman, who had been indefatigable in enlisting partisans in the plot. He was brought to trial, condemned, and executed with Sir Henry Slingsby, on the 8th of June, on Tower Hill.

§ John Mordaunt, brother to the Earl of Peterborough, a youth of only twenty years of age. He owed his life to the heroic exertions of his wife, a young lady whom he had recently married.

|| John Bellasis, created Lord Bellasis by Charles I. He was uncle to Lord Fauconbridge, who had lately married Cromwell's daughter.

versally discovered, before it could be executed, by most strange and signal providences. I suppose the printed papers will tell you the death of the most honestly-noble Lord of Warwick, dying suddenly in a fit of the cholic. His eldest son, my Lord Rich, is fallen very sick ; as likewise my Lord (I mean the Lieutenant of the Tower.*) There is yet no public speech of parliament at Whitehall ; but the Swedish resident here tells that it will sit the 4th of June next.

Vale et salve.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

May 5, 1658.

SIR,—Since my last, April 29, I got your last, of April 8. I have not failed one week, by which you will be able to know whether all mine be come safe to your hands. I am still very much afflicted with my three tormenting diseases. I believe that, against the stone, I can scarce have a better than that which now I use with so great success, through God's blessing, voiding, a few days ago, sixteen little stones, and almost every day abundance of them, with store of sand and gravel. My son Clodius tells me that, by a singular providence, he hath now lighted upon *veram præparationem Mercurii*, as

* Sir John Barkstead, Knight, was Lieutenant of the Tower.

to curing of ulcers, which, by all chemical physicians, is held the only and most sovereign medicine in the ulcers, which, by the Galenists, are counted incurable. These particulars, I mention for your and your friends' sake, in case of need. What mercies the Lord shall further vouchsafe, I shall not fail to signify. Your four little papers are very welcome, and would be more if they had been in quarto. The French extract is very severe against Comenius and *Lux in Tenebris*, but I shall not send it to Amsterdam till Mr. Beale hath given me his notes upon it.

Mr. Rulice writes thus:—"The vast Hebrew Bible which is printing at Leyden will not be ready till next year. It may be, he who prints it may come to Amsterdam; for he is much envied at Leyden by Golius and others, and all the booksellers. He is a man wonderfully seen in the Persian, Arabian, Hebrew, and Greek languages. I pray let your friend at Hereford tell you his judgment, what he thinks of *Lux in Tenebris*, in case the emperor's son be chosen and crowned emperor, and if the King of France be not, as we have had in some visions since the publishing of *Lux*. Here some make this interpretation: that it matters not, although he be chosen and crowned, if he continue not long. Others conceive the contrary, seeing it is so absolutely set down, that there shall be no more of that house; and that the King of France

shall be. I confess that business in Denmark ; and some other things are fulfilled that were predicted ; and that in all there is no averting from, but all tending to, conversion to God, makes me the more suspense.” Thus far that good man. Mr. D.* was just with me when I received your last, and therefore you may be sure he read that extract from Paris ; but himself hath not yet perused *Lux in Tenebris*. Your other lines I sent to Dr. Worthington, which I know will be extremely welcome and satisfactory. The calling of a parliament is certainly resolved upon, but not the time ; only my Lord Protector said, not long ago, that it would be very shortly.

Sir Thomas Cotton’s son (Sir Robert’s grandchild), a married gallant gentleman, stabbed himself ; but may yet recover. He is very penitent for doing that vile act upon himself. Dr. Cheynell received three bullets, at Petworth ; but I do not hear yet that they have taken away his life. Some lawyers had found a flaw in the act for erecting a court of high justice for trying the conspirators in the plot ; but my Lord Protector’s counsel hath outflawed them. The collection for the Bohemians, &c., is begun, but will not deserve to be named with the former of Piedmont.

Vale et salve.

* Probably Dury.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.*

SIR,—Your last is dated April
 give was faithfully deli[vered and]
 was very welcome as [are all your commu]nica-
 tions. Last [night I received] these adjoined,
 [which are, perhaps,] worth your ac[ceptance, with
 others from] Dr. Worthington ;† [but I will now
 send you no] more papers, for I am filled with all
 [these, which I fear will] make the packet too great.
 You have real compassion to my
 tormented condition that I have
 prevailed for getting solaris or (stein
 tincture) I en used for the stone. I
 pray God you nor yours [may never undergo the
 same] torments, but if any be, my son Clodius or
 [. . . will be] able to help you or them to
 that medicine. Mr. Beale [writes thus] May 4th :—
 “ ’Tis in the bottom of some of I intend
 to communicate to your son, when I hear [more of]
 the fore-mentioned treatise of Oswald Crollius. I
 hav[e sent another] discourse concerning orchards ;
 it may be more wel[come than the o]ther dis-
 courses to Mr. P. I hope it will be fit also to
 [send] to some of your other chosen friends. Two

* This letter is much torn in the original, but a good part of it may be easily supplied, as is here done between brackets.

† Dr. Worthington was the master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and vice-chancellor of the university during this year.

more like dis[courses follow] close in the heels of one another, that friends may hav[e the pro]fit and flower of them before they fly in public. Thus [far that] excellent and sublime soul.

Mr. Cotton (son to Sir Thomas Cotton, child to Sir Robert), of three thousand a-year, that stabbed himself, is dead of [his] wounds, by which means, that famous library is fallen to the hands of my Lord Protector.* Our foreign letters of last week are not yet arrived, being [de]tained by those of Ostend. My Lord North presented his highness, this week, with two most stately horses. The minister of Petworth, Dr. Cheyne[ll† is] not shot (as was reported), but certain that he is fallen distracted, and is sent to Bedlam.

S. H. V.‡ is said to have done an extra piece of service of [late] to the state ; but Mr. Brereton having hindered me, I must conclude with the remembrance of his service ; and am

Your unfeigned faithful servant,

S. H.

* This letter supplies us a link in the history of the Cottonian library, which was not previously known.

† Francis Cheynell was a well-known nonconformist, and wrote many controversial tracts.

‡ Sir Henry Vane.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

* * * * For not long ago [. . enquired ur]gently after the present condition of Mr. M[orland, I let] him know how your love had surprised him. The s[ecretary] came himself unto me, delivering the like sum to be . . . You see by this what one generous example can do. O . . wel]come will this arrive again at Hulhestein! Here yo[u have the copy] of a notable phytological letter, written originally unto me, [and sent by Mr.] Comen to Mr. Beale. Last Thursday, I sent you a [letter in answer] to yours, with two other more in vindication of *Lux in T[enebris]*, with co]pies of originals to Dr. Worthington and Mr. Shackleworth. [The whole histo]ry of the new horrid plot will be sufficiently presented, I suppose, by [the enclo]sed papers. I hope that by reason of its vileness this will be *ultim[us crepi]pitus Diaboli*. The King and Cardinal of France being come to Mardyke, my Lord Protector hath sent them a good present of venison. The French ambassador sent a hundred bottles of the best Rhenish wine he could get.* They are commencing the formal siege of Dunkirk, the French and English having [al]ready taken some of their best outworks, wherein they

* The king, attacked by the small-pox, soon after retired to Calais.

found fifty [pie]ces of brass ordnance ; but if there be a rebellious infuriation of [the] people, and of the Jansenists at Paris (as just now the news is said to come by the last French post), all the affairs and present concerts are very like to be sent about. I do not remember whether I have told you in my last that Mr. Cotton was not dead of his wounds, but had begun to shew himself in Westminster Hall.

I can say no more, but rest, as long as there is any breathing,

Your faithful servant.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

May 27, 1658.

SIR,—I am still wonderfully distempered and tormented in my body, yet I am adventuring to write a few lines. Your last is dated 6-16th of May, wherein you tell me very unpleasant news that my letter of April 8th is never come to your hands, which also is no small trouble unto me. There were many remarkable things in that letter, and amongst others, a discourse of Mr. Beale's, March 30th, resolving a question whether any settlement could be expected from another parliament, with some other particulars concerning the conversion of the Turks and [the Jan]senist party in France. There was also a letter [concerning the]

. . . discoveries of Mr. Wren's* new weather-glass, [for indicating] dryness and moistness, and of Dr. Lake's water [clepsydra, an] invention of which Mr. Dym[ock] and Brereton will also be [able to give you a] fuller account. Of domestic news I told y[ou that] the king of Sweden had bestowed upon Mr. Mead[ows . . .]gen the sum of 9000 rix-dollars, who hath [received in]structions to go, instead of resident Bradshaw, [to the] Duke of Muscovia. I have written every week. [Clodius] is really your servant. Mr. Brereton takes very great [interest in] him, and commends hugely his physic. I shall tell [him what] you have written concerning the Helvetian goats. I thank [you for the] *Dialectologia Sacra*, having never before heard of such [a work.] The Count of Hohenloe is in the retinue of the Oect. (?) of Hun[. . .], and, as is confirmed again, no papist. Dr. Horne hath been [a] great while silent, but here you have a copy of his last, con[tai]ning, methinks, very pretty observations. I wish he would write oftener, but I perceive he is afraid of the postage. He sends me also a scheme or picture of carriages moving without beasts, but adds, they were merely for pleasure ; but I shall tell him that Martindal's motion is both for recreations and real uses and accommodations.

* Afterwards Sir Christopher Wren.

Mr. Beale hath sent me a very large letter concerning cider, or winy liquors, which he is persuaded you will not distaste. Mr. Brereton is as far as ever from the consummation of his marriage. But,

I remain, ever, Sir, your faithful servant,

S. HARTLIB.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

June 3, 1658.

SIR,—Your last is dated May 13th-23rd, which is the more welcome, because it answers to Mr. Beale's communications of April 9th. My writers have been sick, and one of them is going away to be maintained by Monsieur de G. at Truniker; else I should have made a beginning to give you the continuation of an epistolary discourse on the winy liquors of cider and perry, containing many particular directions; but I shall endeavour to do it as soon as may be. I have written and communicated largely by every post. The excellent Viscountess Ranaleigh writes as followeth:—"Methinks every contrivance tending to the ease of the sick, or the welfare of mankind, under any part of that curse he groans under, may be an exercise of love; and if one of the old Roman lawgivers could be so sordid as to tell his son that nothing could be base that raised money, how truly may Christians

say, that the meanest work of charity is not to be affirmed base but noble ; and so much the nobler is the charity, by how much the meaner works it can stoop men to the performance of. Therefore your sick man's bed may be, for ought I know, preferable to any destructive martial engine."* Thus far that incomparable lady.

* The following note preserved among the Pell papers may, perhaps, explain Lady Raneleigh's allusion :—

Mr. Dimock's opinion of Mr. Ofield's sick-bed.—If this that appears in the model shall be found to hold in the great as well, then I say, that I very well like that part or joint that is made to raise the head, for it is done more easily and equally than can be done by hand, and that without disturbance to the sick ; without waking him if he sleep ; without straining him (if extreme weak, sore, or wounded,) to rise and sit up, as the manner is, whilst they raise and alter his pillows ; by which means, also, many times the sick, being in a sweat, takes much cold, which is this way prevented. The like device serves for the like purpose, so far as is necessary, at the bed's feet. As for that contrivance at the side, to raise or let fall either side, I do not perceive so much use thereof, for no well man can endure to lie on the side of a hill, in a posture always ready to tumble down. And if it be intended only to help him to turn, it will badly do that without two or more to help, and then the use (namely, the saving of charge) is lost ; and without some care, one alone standing on one side of the bed and turning the same side up may possibly throw the sick person out of the bed, or against the bed-post, to his terror or hurt ; but this can do no hurt if let alone. In the whole matter, I find considerable ease and advantage to the sick, and charge saved, one person being, by this means, ordinarily, enough to look to one, though very weak.

Sir Robert Honywood, lately come from the Hague, tells of a very singular invention of a clock without a balance, that goes most exactly true, and needs only to be wound up once in eight days. It is sold there for seven pounds sterling. Fromentil hath undertaken to make the like, if not to exceed it. The travelling chariots begin more and more to be in use amongst us ; they were first invented by Colonel Blunt, in Kent ; they go with one or two horses, and are so light that, if the horses be good, they may go easily with two or more persons fifty or sixty miles a day. The Earl of Thanet* uses another kind of new invented carriages, carrying in them five-hundred weight of all manner of commodities, the carriage being closely covered to shelter it from rain, and going fifty miles a day with one horse, which is changed for another at twenty-five miles ; but the carriers are so stupid that, as yet, they have not followed his example. There had like fallen out a very sad accident last week, when the ship was launched which was called the Richard ; for by reason of the wildness of the horses, they ran away, and tore my Lord Richard's coach all in pieces, my Lord Protector, Major Beak, and Mr. Pierrepont, being in it ; but, God be thanked, no

* John, second Earl of Thanet. He had been obliged to compound for his estates with no less a sum than nine thousand pounds.

hurt was done, but only my Lord Richard received some wounds.* I rest, dear Sir,

Your most faithful servant.

S. HARTLIB.

Mrs. Raven† is brought to bed of a daughter, but the child is not like to live.

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

June 10th, 1658.

SIR,—I am very sorry you did put yourself to so great a trouble in copying out the German news,

* Richard Cromwell seems to have suffered remarkably from accidents of this kind. In the year preceding, he was twice in danger of his life. "Twice in this year," (1657,) says Godwin, in his *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 477, "Richard Cromwell appears to have sustained a serious accident. The first time was on the 23rd of January, when the parliament went to congratulate the Protector on the defeat of Sindercombe's plot. A temporary staircase broke down, and Richard Cromwell is said to have been much bruised. For the second time, we have no information how it happened, and are indebted for our only notice on the subject to Thurloe. This is in August and September, when the secretary informs Henry Cromwell that his brother's bones are well set, and that he is in a hopeful way of recovery. It is curious, as a matter of state etiquette, that, the heir to the British dominions not having been considered in danger of death, no notice is taken in either of the only two newspapers then existing, which were conducted by Nedham, and may be considered as court-gazettes."

† Pell's daughter, of whose marriage so much has been said.

and the “*Passio Gallica* ;” the news contained nothing but what we have had before, and the “*Passio Gallica*” hath been amongst us above these three weeks, sent, as I take it, to Mr. Haak. The enclosed letter in your last of May 20th-30th, I sent presently to the goldsmith, and here you have the answer unto it. Mr. Comen, about three weeks ago, did impart unto me a copy of the last visions of Drabitus, from March 8th to May 1st ; wherein he says again, that the King of France is to be the German emperor. He hath, no doubt, sent a copy of those visions into your quarters. I pray take special notice of a little treatise come forth this week, called, “*The Devil of Mascon, or, a true relation of the chief things which an unclean spirit did and said at Mascon, in Burgundy, in the house of Mr. Francis Perriaud, minister of the reformed church in the same town. Published in French lately by himself, and now made English by one that hath a particular knowledge of the truth of this story. Oxford. Printed by H. Hall, printer to the University, for Richard Davis, 1658,*” pages 42, in large 12mo.*

* The story related in this volume made a great noise at the time when it was pretended to have happened. The relation was first published in French by Perriaud, at Geneva, in 1656, under the title of “*L’Antidemon de Mascon.*” The translation mentioned by Hartlib was the work of Pierre du Moulin, and was ushered into the world with a preface written by the celebrated philosopher, Robert Boyle.

The printed papers will relate the signal great victory obtained against the Spanish army coming to relieve Dunkirk.* I know not whether they will mention that, on Friday last, my Lord Protector and council kept a private fast, when they heard that the Spanish army was marching to raise the foresaid siege; and on the Lord's day morning, they received the return and fruit of their prayers in that great success.

Mr. Meadows hath been countermanded, and instead of going to the Muscovite, is gone to the King of Sweden. The court of France took so kindly the sending of his highness's son-in-law, the Lord Falconberg, to the king at Calais, that they are resolved to send four ambassadors into England, to requite that civility; one from the king, another from the queen, and a third from the brother, the Duke of Anjou, and the fourth from Mazarin.† Here you have the rich present of the winy liquors;

* The Spaniards were advancing to raise the siege of Dunkirk, when the French and English army marched to meet them; attacked them on the Dunes, near that place; and entirely defeated them. The marvellous bravery of the six-thousand English under Lockhart, which decided the fate of the battle, is the theme of all historians of the time. Dunkirk was soon after surrendered and delivered to the English.

† Falconberg, whose embassy had been received in the most flattering manner, left Calais the day before the battle of the Dunes; soon after, on the taking of Dunkirk, the Marshal Duke of Crequi, with Mazarin's nephew and a great train, were sent over to Cromwell to deliver him the keys of that place.

the rest are shortly to follow, if the Lord continue health to him who is ever,

Sir, your very faithful friend to serve you,

S. HARTLIB.

From Mr. Beale, Hereford, May 31, 1658.—*Dearest Sir,—This enclosed comes faster on you than I had intended, if, in your last, I had not found Dr. P.'s kind overtures towards you, which hastened this in your way, that you may lay hold of this opportunity to accommodate the public.

If any man think I speak too largely, let him inquire the truth of the plain narrative and debate with himself, what can make cider in a cider-country, and in a time of store of it, come so near the price of foreign wines? You will be pleased to take notice that I have scarce time to review what I have written, nor could transcribe what I have formerly sent. For which cause, if you join all parcels together, I must rely upon you to omit names that may be impertinent or to any offensive, and to expunge such repetitions as are not necessary inculcative. I write all as to you personally, and with such freedom and plainness that the truth may be tried and examined. I think I have partly discharged that which, in the beginning of the last winter, I hinted, but told you I was afraid to say it, and I think it did almost offend some of our best correspondents, namely, that we could make the wild mountains bear rich wines at small charges.

Another evidence that the wine of apples and pears may be made as rich as the wine of the grape; with further directions in it.

Sir,—Lately, I gave you notice that, in the beginning of March last, cider was sold in Hereford for four-pence the wine quart. Now, for these two last months, it is sold at the two chief inns, the Black Swan and the Falcon, and in some other

* This is, without doubt, the communication referred to at the end of the preceding letter. It is preserved (imperfect at the end) in one of the volumes of Pell's papers.

places of greatest resort, for sixpence the quart,* while claret and white wine was, in the best taverns in Hereford, sold for eight-pence the quart. This, I know, reacheth not to the title prefixed. With patience attend the sequel. He that keeps the Sun Tavern is a younger brother of a chief family of many considerable relations; his name Mr. Hereford, and popular in Hereford, bred up under opportunities of correspondence with merchants, and having the true gust of best wines, and a sufficient purse and credit, being also town clerk. He (apprehending his concernment in it) lays out all his capacities and credit to get the best wines from London and Bristol that money and friendship can procure; gets his merchant to come from Bristol to Hereford to be a witness and to join council, skill, and activity, to beat down the reputation of cider and to hold up the credit of wines, in which success a part of their subsistence consists. The issue proves no other than I have formerly told you. Those French wines which, to my certain knowledge, are not easily and ordinarily attainable in many provinces of France, were not allowed to be comparable to this cider of sixpence the quart.

To this, three things may be objected.

That faction, interest, and custom, does pervert the judgment of them that prefer cider. That the difference of price gives the precedence to the French wines. That this is nothing to the comparison with sacks and Greek wines.†

1. To the first objection, I answer: That by strangers and unconcerned persons, the vote is generally given to the cider; and I know that it so past in the secret whisper of several merchants. Neither do I see or know one man or woman that can drink these French wines with delight, as they do drink

* Considering the difference in the value of money, the cider must have been very dear in comparison with its present price, and with the price of wines at that time.

† The chief wines used formerly in England were, Sack and Malmsey, or Malvasia wine, the latter being a Greek wine. The Spanish and Portuguese wines seem to have been little known.

cider,—that is, without any mixture of sugar, lemons, or other helps to it. So that the use of wine amongst us is rather as a formality for the name and credit of wine, and for a novelty, or rarity, or fashion of entertainment, or for a present to a friend, than the choice of the palate, by which means our wealthiest vintners are at a great loss by the general contempt of wine in comparison of cider. This, I say, I do know, having a near relation who is a friend to the forenamed vintner, and being an abettor in his behalf. And I conceive that we, having a great store of cider for frequent and familiar use, the rarity of these wines (for a short touch or gust) hath the advantage of an insinuating commendation.

2. To the second objection: That yet the price of wine sheweth the precedence of it before cider. Our answer must consist of many branches. And first, for a light gloss, and as partly appertaining to the first objection, we may acknowledge that men as well as women are somewhat indulgent to that which is far fetched and dear bought; and withal we may here weigh that the wines which are transported hither by merchants are somewhat better than the vulgar wines of France; and that this wine here, brought into the challenge, is far beyond the wine of common sale; that these wines are brought so many miles by sea, and by rivers, and by land; that there a French merchant and here an English merchant must raise the price of their livelihood in the dirt; that the vintners' licence and retinue is a charge of value; that the customs must be defrayed; to this add the charge of raising and dressing the vineyards, and now consider and wonder that, in a country surrounded with orchards that cost nothing the dressing; that are planted by all sorts of people, poor and rich, rather for a recreation than with toil and charges, that do, in a small portion of growth, yield yearly so many thousand hogsheads of cider (as hath been shewed you); where our rivers are blocked up with wears, our ways with mountains, and the want of commerce; and where a penny is so hardly raised in markets of general cheapness, there cider is sold so near the rate of richest French wines, brought so far by divers kinds of carriages, at so much charge, toil, trust, and hazard. What improvement can be like unto this? since the

dressing of vineyards, by the damage of blasts and frosts, doth sometimes exceed the worth of the wines as they are sold in France ; whereas here we may, at very little charges and no hazard, raise these wines at our doors.

Now add this, that this high-rated cider is only of red-strakes,* bought in the country for thirty shillings the hogshead ; made without any regard to the rules which I formerly gave you, which must be regarded if we will challenge the richest wines. Here you may suspect me for saying that they buy it for thirty shillings the hogshead, and sell it for sixpence the wine quart, our hogshead containing seventy gallons of statute measure, and a gallon of statute measure being about the proportion of six of our wine quarts, as I am informed. For answer to this I assert not the conscience and equity, but the truth of the matter of fact ; thus far, that round about the city, at the distance of one, two, three, four, five, six miles, within these few months, we could buy store of the same cider at the rate of twenty or thirty shillings the hogshead. The only difference is this, that, at these inns and houses of resort, they draw it off in bottles some weeks before they drink it ; the bottles being stone bottles of a quart measure, and laid up in cool cellars. Note here also, that there is much difference between the best of this kind of cider, and that which is commonly bought out of the country, which is most generally suffered to expire all the richest spirits, by lying a month or two, at least a fortnight, open to the wide air, when it is newly made, in all the time of fermentation, and then commonly jumbled in barns and sunny out-houses for want of cellars, (for in this general plenty, we have not cellars for the greatest part of our cider ;) and this remedy of bottling it cannot recover the first and second errors, only it gives a precedence before that which hath also another waste of spirits in the looseness of the vent, and in the negligence of drawing it, and somewhat it is helped by a short time of redoubling, fortifying, and then mellowing or ripening itself upon its own fermentation. And this difference is not a little, as the different

* The red-streaks are still a very common apple in Herefordshire.

rate shews, yet very little in comparison of all my fore-mentioned rules, taking the choice of fruits which have a peculiar fulness of strong spirits, and all degrees of maturity; the busiest and finest spirits being not wasted, but constrained to assist the ferment inwardly, and then retained in places constantly cool, as in cellars of sand houses, and cold springs and fountains, and helped with the length of time for a year, two, or three.

If this, their bottling, may mostly quadruple the value of our common cider in so short a time, then you may infer how much the best cider of the longest date may excel their six-penny cider. And hence you may infer some of those other assertions, which I have heretofore hinted to you in private, but am afraid to avouch in public, lest it may more impair my credit than profit others. For here you see that all the best helps are seldom thoroughly observed, and one single observation is so new amongst us, and yet so powerful, that it hath turned our common cider into rich wine, and hath brought a great gain to them that have the wit to regard it. But what sensible man would expose himself upon a public theatre to proclaim to the world a paradox which shall raise the laughter and scorns of the multitudes?

3. The third objection demands: What is this to the comparison with sacks and Greek wines? First, consider (as we have already advertised) that we have hitherto spoken but of one kind of cider, and that brought into lists with the comparison of French wine, though it wanted the first, second, and third main helps of improvement. And it was fittest to be compared with French wines, having somewhat of the smartness of their pricking eagerness in the farewell. And in order, we always take heed that we do not compare linen with woollen, satin with velvet, these being of a very desperate quality.

To handle this question, we must also take into our consideration the great diversity of palate, which may be differenced nationally by our sexes, customs, or complexions; but I must not embark upon this ocean, nor strain upon curiosities. This is apparent, that the French will not leave their pungent clarets

and white wines, for the habitual diet of the sweet wines of Spain and Greece ; neither will they or the witty Italians leave their savory pottages, lively drinks, and relishing bread, with salads, sauces, or oranges, lemons, salt, spices, vinegar, oil, and old cheeses, for our English currant-broth, plum-bread, cheese-cakes, fat ale, hoppy beer, sugared wines, and luscious sauces ; not only with them, but generally among men, sweet things can have but a short time of pleasantness, soon cloying the stomach ; and some degree of smartness is as necessary for our liquors, as salt for our food. Here I must examine this point upon the taste of individual palates, which gives me leave to name persons, place, and time, by which the truth may better be sifted ; and truly he is not worthy of these debatements that finds not in them something worthy of a further inquisition. You have lately been told of one gentleman (in the published letter, he beareth the name and character of Mr. J. S. of W.) who hath his party that despiseth this redstrake wine, in comparison of his equivocal pearmain cider ; of which I gave you the secret whisper that it was made of the Bareland pear, dropping off the tree with full ripeness, lying awhile under the tree, and then mingled * * * *

MR. HARTLIB TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—Of this Norden of Bristol, I have no other insight as yet, but that he hath invented a peculiar kind of clepsydras, which are very much commended ; but I am promised another invention of clepsydras which one Dr. Lake, a civilian, by many serious observations for many years together, hath at last brought to such a perfection as that, in the judgment of Mr. Smethwick, it is said to excel all

that ever hath been known in this kind. Himself hath tried it already for fourteen days, and finds it to be so accurate a diminution of time that he far prefers it before any other clocks or watches. My Lord Protector hath bought a clock for three hundred pounds, invented by Fromantil, which needs not to be wound up within a month. I hope I shall get one of Dr. Lake's water clepsydras.

MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON TO MR. PELL.

Monday, November 22, 1658.*

MR. PELL,—There is this day a meeting to be in the Moor-fields, of some mathematical friends (as you know your custom hath been); there will be Mr. Rook† and Mr. Wrenn, my Lord Brounker,‡ Sir Paul Neale,§ Dr. Goddard,|| Dr. Scarborough,¶ &c. I had notice the last night of your being in town, from some of the gentlemen now named, and

* This was the day of Cromwell's funeral.

† The same who is mentioned by Evelyn, August 28th, 1666, as the inventor of a new pendulum.

‡ Lord Brounker was the first president of the Royal Society.

§ Sir Paul Neale was a famous optician.

|| Dr. Goddard was the professor of physic at Gresham College.

¶ Dr., afterwards Sir Charles Scarborough.

of their desire to enjoy your company ; there will be no such number as you usually have seen at such meetings ; twelve is the number invited. Sir, I hope you will excuse the short warning, for it was short to me. Yours to serve you,

ANTHONY THOMPSON.

To Mr. Pell, these present. Inquire for
Mr. Hartlib's house.

MR. THOMAS BRANCKER* TO MR. PELL.

Tottenham, June 1, 1665.

REVEREND SIR,—Many thanks for my late undeserved freedom which you promised, I make bold

* Thomas Brancker, or Branker, was born in Devonshire, in 1636, and after having attained some eminence as a mathematician, died in 1676. He published a treatise on Algebra, partly translated from the German treatise, but much altered, with many additions, by Pell. The translation was completed in 1665, and a licence obtained for printing it. In his preface, Brancker gives the following account of his first acquaintance with Pell:—"A little after [the obtaining the licence] I heard that there was at that time, in London, a person of note, very worthy to be made acquainted with my design, before I made any farther progress in the impression ; being admitted to speak with him, I found him not only able to direct me, but also very willing so to do, so far as his leisure would permit." The book was published in 1668, and the preface is dated from Whitegate, in Cheshire, the 22nd of April in that year. Many of Brancker's letters to Pell during the impression are preserved among the Birch MSS., whence the two following are taken.

to trouble you with these lines, attended with a proof of the first sheet of Rohnius. I have according to your desire used your $\div$ and uv and $\therefore$ throughout the book, having expunged my own former substitutions, only with your leave retaining $\odot$ for $\odot$ because it must have been cut *de novo*. Likewise I have, after some thoughts about it, substituted another definition of evolution, which, if you like not, be pleased to expunge, &c.

The reason why I used not the pointed numbers $\dot{2}$ $\dot{3}$ &c., but give that advertisement (p. 3.) was, because they had no such numbers cut, and because, also, I think the practitioner in Algebra will think himself safer by writing bare numbers, unless it be when any number comes in *aliunde*, which being more seldom, I conceive he will be content to dash it [$\overline{2}$ $\overline{15}$] as I there hint. But all this with submission. My design is, the gratifying those many virtuosi that long for this piece as raw as it is, and yet I will cheerfully undertake any reasonable pains in completing it, and gratefully accept of any direction; although my hopes at first were not to better the treatise, but my resolutions not to wrong it. I had almost forgotten to acquaint you that I have expunged his [$\epsilon \square$] in most places, but in some few, I entreat that it may stand, partly because another margent would be too long, but especially because I have found it to be a pretty light

to the work ; but I crave pardon for this trouble,
and am, Sir, yours very much obliged,

THO. BRANCKER.

Note by Dr. Pell.—I received this letter June 2nd, after eight in the evening, with a proof of the first eight pages of an introduction to Algebra, published in High Dutch at Zurich, 1659, by J. H. Rhonius, Englished by Mr. Brancker.

MR. THOMAS BRANCKER TO MR. PELL.

Tottenham, December 19, 1665.

HONOURED SIR,—It is now many months since I have put you to the danger of perusing anything from me out of these afflicted parts ; and I hope my fear of offending yourself, and the noble family* in which you reside, may be my excuse for this my (otherwise) too long silence. In my last to you, which I know not whether ever it came to your hand, I had little to do but to present my thankful acknowledgment of your undeserved kindnesses, and to entreat the continuance of them. At present, I beg the same favour, for which I shall never be unthankful in any way wherein I may be enabled to express myself. While the sickness† raged, I was necessarily taken up more than before or since in

* The family of Lord Brereton. Pell was at this time residing at Brereton, in Cheshire.

† The great plague of London.

the duties of this family, because it was hazardous to go to church ; but since I have had more leisure, I have followed the table of incomposits, and have even done it. I must be forced to transcribe it, partly to keep a copy, and partly because the corrections in proving it as I go along make it somewhat liable to press errors. My request to you now is, that you would please to think of what you purposed to hint about the use of it. They have wrought off the book no further than K. If you want that, or any former sheet, it shall be sent you, and the succeeding ones successively. I shall not let them work on till Mr. Pits, my bookseller, return out of Cornwall. If you think any other tables will be usefully subjoined, and you please to advise me to make them, I shall do it, or anything else which may benefit the readers or serve yourself. What if we should reprint Guldinus's tables of squares and cubes, at least part of them ? I think I could make them lie closer than they do in his book, and I shall prove them according to his (or rather Clavius's) way. I shall further advertise you of the cuts, when it is more seasonable. I beg your pardon for this freedom, and commit you to God's ruling.

Yours, ever obliged,

THOMAS BRANCKER.

Our town, Tottenham, hath been much visited ; which made me afraid to trouble you hence. But

all this family have, by God's goodness, had our health all along. This I write for your satisfaction. I pray direct your letters to T. B., with the Lady Reynardson, at Tottenham, to be left with Goodman Pickering, coachman, in Bishopsgate Street, and they will arrive safely.

Sir Samuel Barnardiston hath let his house to one of the sheriffs of London, and therefore I may not trouble that house now with the conveyance, as I once entreated you.

REV. JOHN NYE TO MR. PELL.

Lainden,* February 10, 1677-8.

REVEREND SIR,—You expect, I presume, some intimations concerning the place and people where, as your substitute, I serve the cure; after tedious deliberation, I thought good to give your worship the following notice, viz. :—As far as the winter extremities, the incontinuity of country-houses, and private necessities, do permit, our churches enjoy full congregations, the people being reverent and observant, and lovers of the desk as well as pulpit. I know not one perfect dissenter; only Mr. Andrews, of Lainden, once held a conventicle in his house since my coming. The appearance at Christmas communion was tolerable—about twenty

* Laingdon, in Essex, Pell's living.

persons ; and we hope Easter will exceed. Our school is occupied by a licensed, grave, and good man. All officers for church and town are legally qualified, i. e., men honest, able, judicious. All church ornaments and repairs are exact, except only Barseldon, where two casualties are fallen, viz., the bell-roof is ready to drop, and one side of the church needs shoring ; the total charges are pre-estimated about fifty pounds. As for my own acceptance and success, it is not wholly in vain, praised be God. I know not one drunkard nor swearer amongst us, except only Gaffar Fryar, of Lainden, who on many accounts forgets piety, but especially by swearing and miserableness. My Lord Bishop of London urges the duty of catechising with much fervour ; I shall begin on the 17th of February next, being the first Sunday in Lent ; but my lord (when I sued out a license) did profess Lent season too short for such a work, and hardly endured to have the matter contested. Our parishes have not observed perambulations for several years ; I suppose it will be convenient to stir them thereto against the 5th of May next, Rogation Sunday.

Reverend Sir,—I know your minutes are precious, your importances constant ; *ergo*, it is duty and love, without rhetorical ambages, to profess myself, as I ought to appear,

Your worship's humble servant and ready curate,

JOHN NYE.

Mr. Andrews (of whom my letter speaketh) is a constant churchman, attentive and observant at the Common Prayer, and carefully avoideth sly reflections against the Government, but, as it seems, best satisfied with the presbyterian discipline.

MR. PELL'S DIARY

OF

HIS RESIDENCE AT ZURICH.

1654.

March 1. I was forty-three years old.

— 2. My Lord Protector sent for me, and first proposed that journey to me.

— 3. The Low-Dutch ambassadors came.

— 21. Marcus first waited upon me.

— 24. I received, at Whitehall, 200*l.* sterling advance.

April 5. Dismissed by my Lord Protector. I supped with my wife and bade her adieu.

— 6. We came to Gravesend.

— 8. Dunkirk. 9. Bruges. 10. Sluys.

— 11. Middleburg. 13. Hague. 16. Utrecht.

— 21. From Utrecht to Arnhem.

— 22. Cleve. 25. To Cologne. 28. From Cologne.

May 3. Mentz. 4. Frankford.

— 8. From Frankford. 9. Heidelberg, at noon.

— 11. Strasberg. 13. Kentzingen : there I
drank water.

— 14. Tyingen : there I fell very sick, yet came
to Schleingen.

— 15. To Basil. 17. From Basil to Mumf.

— 18. Dined at Baden : supped at Zurich.

So from Westminster to Zurich, forty-
three days ; our way was crooked, and
at least seven hundred miles long.

— 22. From the Stork to Engelburg.

June 1. Mr. Stoupe came to us.

— 6. Carl Gustave crowned in Sweden.

— 7. Sword. 8. Belt bought.

— 12. Mellingen. Arraw.

— 13. Proposition at Arraw of J. D. and J. P.

— 14. Mellingen. We came to Zurich.

— 15. The Zollicoffers of St. Gall.

— 26. General meeting at Baden, annual.

— 29. Rex Romanorum moritur.

July 5. I was first visited by the Venetian resi-
dent.

— 7. I repaid his visit.

— 9. Rex Romanorum sepultus.

— 11. Mr. Stockar first visited us at Zurich.

— 12. I first visited Burgomaster Schon.

— 27. My proposition answered. We were
feasted.

- Aug. 3. J. Dury went from Zurich towards Berne.
 — 4. I delivered the instrumentum inclusionis
 to Mr. Burgomaster Waser.
 — 6. Mr. Stockar with me the second time.
 — 17. A fast day at Zurich, annual.
- Sept. 3. Parliament at Westminster begins.
 — 8. Zurich Yâr-Mart (annual) begins.
 — 11. Felix, Regula, Exuperantius. Zurich Sts.
- Oct. 23. Burgomaster Waser married.
- Nov. 5. Guisius interfuit missæ in Castello a Mare
 prope Neapolim.*
 — 17. Mr. Dury came again to Zurich.
 — 24. Mr. Dury went from Zurich to St. Gall.†
- Dec. 8. Mr. Dury returned to Zurich.‡
 — 21. Mr. Dury went from Zurich.§
 — 28. Papa Innocentius X. moritur.
- Jan. 20. John Bourk, feigned son of Cork.||
 — 22. Parliament dissolved at Westminster.¶
 — 28. Carolin anniversary at Zurich.
- Feb. 3. My son eleven years old.
 — 27. Dureus and Hummel came to Zurich.
 — 28. The Canonici, &c. feast them.

1655.

March 1. I was forty-four years old. I feast
 Hummel.

* See vol. i. p. 90—93.

† Ib. p. 86.

‡ Vol. i. p. 93.

§ Ib. p. 99.

|| Vol. ii. p. 385.

¶ Vol. i. p. 119.

- March 20. Bodmer went toward Frankfort mart.
— 25. Suterus Canonicus Tigurinus moritur.
— 28. Alexander VII. papa electus.
- April 3. I reckoned with Marcus, and paid him all.
— 7-17. Piedmont massacre begins.*
— 8-18. Alexander VII. papa coronatur.
- May 4. Hoffmaster went from Zurich, intending
for England, without leave.
— 10. (Thursday) Fast-day for Piedmont in all
the evangelical cantons, Geneva, &c.
— 18. Mr. Dury went from Zurich towards
England.
— 21. Hoffmaster taken, and brought to Zurich
this night.
- June 6. first spoke with me, post reditum.
— 21. Wolfsheim church. . . two ducats.
- July 2. Helvetii Legati (ad Taurinum missi)
Tiguro discessuri mihi valedicunt.
— 3. Married twenty-three years.
— 13. Hottinger went from Zurich toward
Heidelberg.
— 26. He is made Dr. at Basil.
- Aug. 4. Hoffmaster restored to his profession.
— 10. I had audience of a committee of senators,
in stuba canonicorum.
— 19. I paid Yonker Schmid, and went from
his house. Lodged at Baden.

* Vol. i. p. 171.

- Aug. 20. From Baden to Arraw.
— 21 22. Wifflisburg, Avanche.
— 23. Milden, Lausanna.
— 24. Roll. Copet.
— 25. Geneva. Visited by Mr. Uland. Senators.
— 27. Went to lodge with Mr. Tronchin.
- Sept. 1. Mr. Downing came to Geneva, late.
— 2. I first spake with him.
— 8. I left Geneva. Roll, Morges.
— 9. Milden, Payerne. There I met M. H. van Ommeren, Ableg. Belgicum.
— 11. Murat, Berne.
— 21. I gave audience to M. H. van Bonstetten, returned from Turin.
— 26. Paravicini from Zurich to me.
— 27. The deputies of Swiss enter Berne.
— 28. I spake with them, and dined with them.
— 29. Berne, Murat.
— 30. Payerne, at church. H. van Ommeren came thither.
- October 1, 2, 3. Assembly of Swiss deputies.
— 4. Payerne, Milden.
— 5. Lausanna, Morges.
— 6. Nyon, Geneva, Tronchin's house.
- Nov. 20. Oratio Colladonis Genevensis ad me.
— 21. Fast at Geneva Zurich.
- December

January

Feb. 14. From Geneva.*

— 22. I enter Zurich. Engelburg.

— 27. Mr. Morland's agreement with J. Tr.,
for seven thousand pounds sterling.

1656.

March 1. I was forty-five years old.

— 11. Fast. Bit-tag, &c., at Zurich.

— 25. Hoffmaster arrived.

— 28. Armachanus moritur.

April 7. H. van Ommeren came to Zurich.†

— 10. I first went to him there.

— 16. From Zurich to Baden, I and he.‡

May 6. He went from Baden toward Geneva.§

— 7. We removed to the baths.

— 10. Ambassador of Savoy with me.

— 12. Deputies of Zurich with me.

— 19. The Sabaud secretary with me and the
deputies of Zurich and Berne.

— 20. French ambassador with me.

— 21. I went to the deputies of Zurich, and to
the Savoy ambassador.

— 23. Oath to the arbitrators. Zurich deputies
went home.

* Vol. i. p. 355.

‡ Ib. p. 384.

† Ib. p. 381.

§ Ib. p. 400, 1.

- June 3. The Baron of Greisy with me.
— 4. I with him, and with the French ambassador went from Baden to Zurich.*
— 16. Naumachia Veneto-Turcica.
— 23. Burgomaster Waser to the annual meeting at Baden.
- July 12. Four ducats to the shooters. Gaben.
— 15. Captain Raimond with me. Two Boheimian ministers.
— 19. A Dominican of Caen, in Normandy. Eodem die Sueci cum Brandeburgicis vincunt Polonos et Tartaros.
— 25. Raymar, a servant of S. A. Ingram.
— 31. H. Schuchtzer and Grebel were sent to me concerning the league with France.
- August 1. The Venetian resident came to me with his news of the sea-victory.†
— 3. He made his joy-fires at Zurich.‡
— 7. I repaid his visit.
— 29. Queen Christina came to Paris.
- Sept. 4. Valenza capta a Gallis.
— 11. Public fast at Zurich. Annual.
— 22. Last day of their fair. Four English gentlemen with me.
— 25. H. Hainhofer came thither, with two sons of the Earl of Bedford.
— 26. He went thence, me insalutato.

* Vol. i. p. 418.

† Vol. ii. p. 2.

‡ Ib. p. 4.

Oct. 3-13. Sarotti, the Venetian resident, came to Zurich.

— 7-17. Negri, the former Venetian resident, valedixit.*

— 8-18. Thanksgiving in England for the fleet's success.† Elector Saxo moritur.

— 10. I visited the new Venetian resident.

— 13. He repaid my visit.

— 19. Risby and Berry, English gentlemen, came to me.

— 20. Venetian resident feasts the senators.‡

— 29. Fast in England, Scot., Ireland.

Nov. 3. I spake with Burgomaster Waser.§

— 6. Irish countess of Hemsy. Tyrrel, White.

— 14. Hoffmaster put out of his professorship.

Dec. 15. Senator Quæstor Holtshalb moritur.

— 22. Residens Venetus apud me.

— 23. Collection for the Nicodemites of Switz.

Jan. 5. Deputies met at Arraw.

— 8, 9. Gunpowder at Whitehall discovered.||

Feb. Andrew Costa comes to Zurich.

1657.

March 1. I was forty-six years old.

— 10. Engelbert Christian Heister the pilgrim with me.

* Vol. ii. p. 33. † The victory off Cadiz, see vol. ii. p. 27.

‡ Ib. p. 42.

§ Ib. p. 51.

|| Ib. p. 87.

- March 21. Three Mahometans baptized at Zurich.
 — 23. Ferdinandus III. Cæsar moritur.*
 — 31. The crown offered to the Protector. H. Ulrich arrested.
 — 30. Six cardinals made at Rome.
- April

- May 4,200 Rix-dalers from Simler, for H. U.
 — 5. Synodus verna Tiguri.
 — 11. Laurentius Pedemontanus studiis.
 — 29. Carolus, twenty-seven years old.
 — 30. Leopoldus Ignatius, seventeen years old.
- June
 — 26. Inauguratio Protectoris Angl., &c.†
- July 2. Mr. Stockar with me at Zurich.
 — 3. Married just twenty-five years.
 — 4. Foster, an English student, with me.
 — 6. Twenty-four copies more from Schaffhausen.
 — 9. A steeple fired with lightning at Zurich.
 — 10. H. Ulrich freed out of prison.
- Aug. 5. Gesner brought me letters, Gouge Job. from Mr. Haak.
 — 7. General Blake died.
 — 21. I went upon the fortifications of Zurich.
 — 26. Ludovicus XIV., nineteen years old.
- Sept. 4. General Blake's funeral.

* Vol. ii. p. 140, 142.

† See vol. ii. p. 203, 208.

- Sept. 7. Frankfort Mart.
23, 24. Mardyke taken.
— 29. Rebellionis Hiberniæ finis, 1653.
- Oct. 18. Six ducats sent to A. Costa.
— 23. Rebellionis Hiberniæ initium, 1641.
— 24. Frederick Oede.
— 27. Princeps Auriacus moritur, 1650.
- Nov. 11. The Lady Frances married.
— 18. Princeps Hispanus nascitur.
— 19. The Lady Mary married. Θεοδ. Tronchin
moritur Genevæ.
- Dec. 5-15. Princeps Hispanus baptizatur.
— 5,6. Sir John Reynolds drowned.
— 6,7. Odontalgia acerrima.
- Jan. 9. Augli Caleto excedunt, 1557-8.
— 20. English parliament begins with two
houses.
— 23. Peyer of Schaffhausen with me.
— 25. Tooth drawn.
— 26. I first saw Andr. Costa.
- Feb. 4. Parliament of two houses dissolved.

1658.

- March 1. I was forty-seven years old.
- April 27. Child cut at Gäsner's.
- May 4. Synodus verna Tiguri.
— 14. Schneeberger Senator moritur.
— 18. Ten quires of paper from Secretary
Schmid.

- May 22. Revocatory letters received.
— 23. David Whitlaw come to me at Zurich.
— 24. I made even with Yonker Schmid.
- June 16. Ferdin. Aloysius moritur Viennæ.
— 23. Tigurinis valedixi in Curia.
— 26. Zurich Baden.
— 27. Tigurini ablegati Badam veniunt.
— 28. Valedixi Cantonum Evangelicum deputatis. Illi mihi. Kingsfeld.
— 29. I come that night to Basil.
— 30. Basileenses mecum prandent. Postedap.
- July 1. Dimitto Tigurinos.
— 2. to Dr. Passavant Keller came to me.
— 5. I see the library of Basil.
— 8. Five doctors of Basil dined with me.
— 9. Torques et Credentiales &c. Socin.
— 15. Basil. Brisach. Strasburg.
— 16. Schreck in Palatinatu.
— 17. I sent Paravicini to Heidelberg.
— 20. Colonia.
— 21. Colonia discedo.
— 23. Arnhem.
— 26. From Arnhem to Utrecht.
— 27. I came to Utrecht.
— 29. Rotterdam.
— 30. To Middelburg.
- Aug. 2. To Flushing.
— 3. I send Keller to Dunkirk.
— 11. I go aboard the Drake.

- Aug. 12. Aboard the Naseby.
 — 13. I came home about midnight.
 — 17. I spake with Mr. Secretary *
 — 18. I spake with †
 — 20. Gravelin surrendered to the French.
 — 24. I went first to London. His highness
 returned to Whitehall.
 — 27. I spake with * * * ‡ at his lodgings.
- Sept. 1. I dismissed Marcus Feeghe.
 — 3. Olivarus Protector obiit Alb. aulæ.
 — 4. Ricardus Westmonasterii et Londini
 proclamatur.
 — 9. Illum primo vidi et allocutus sum.
- Dec. 4. ——— secundo ———. I delivered the three
 Helvetian letters to him.
- Jan. 14. ——— tertio ———. I delivered the Helve-
 tian letter written to himself.

* A cypher.

† A cypher.

‡ A cypher.

THE END.

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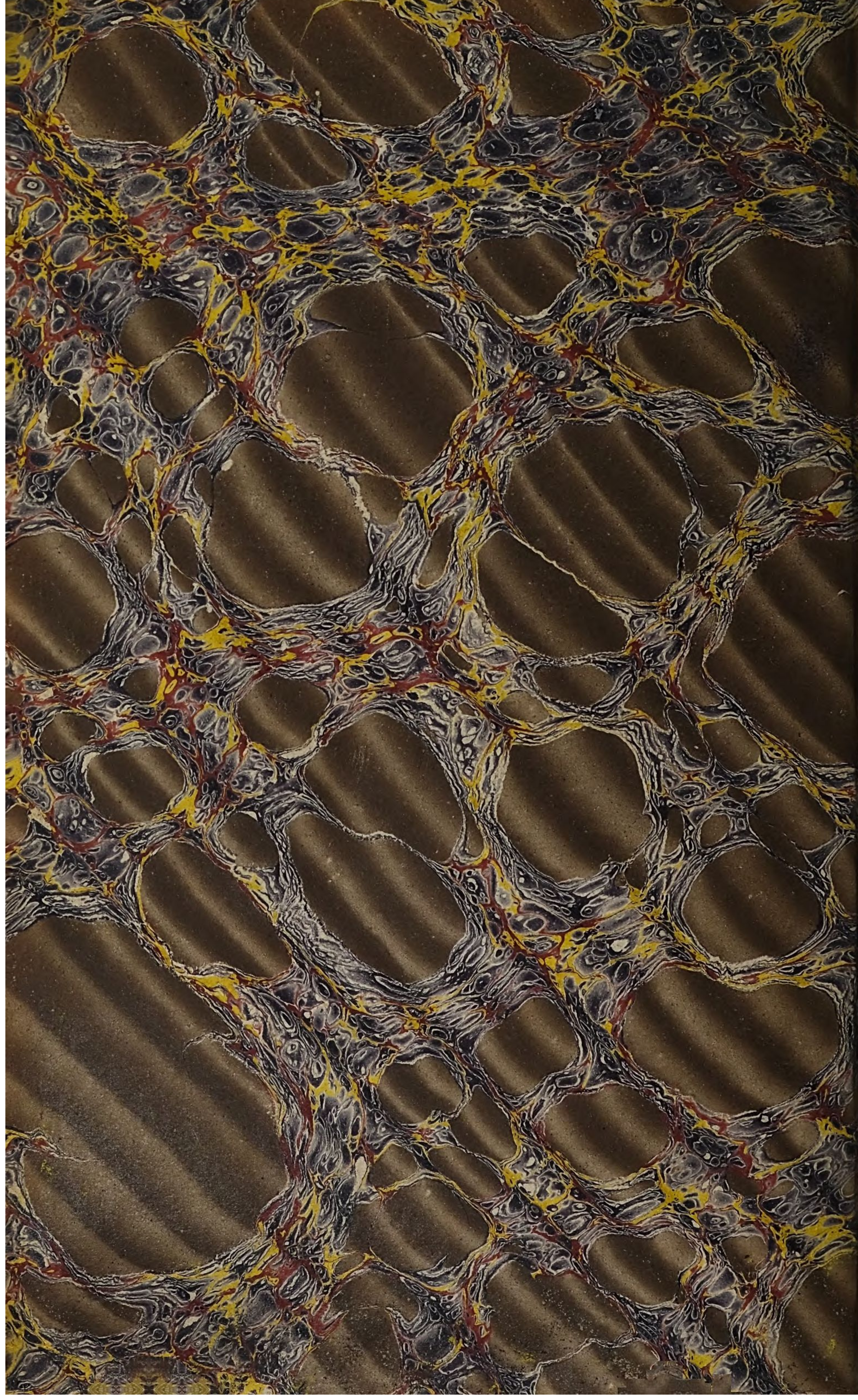
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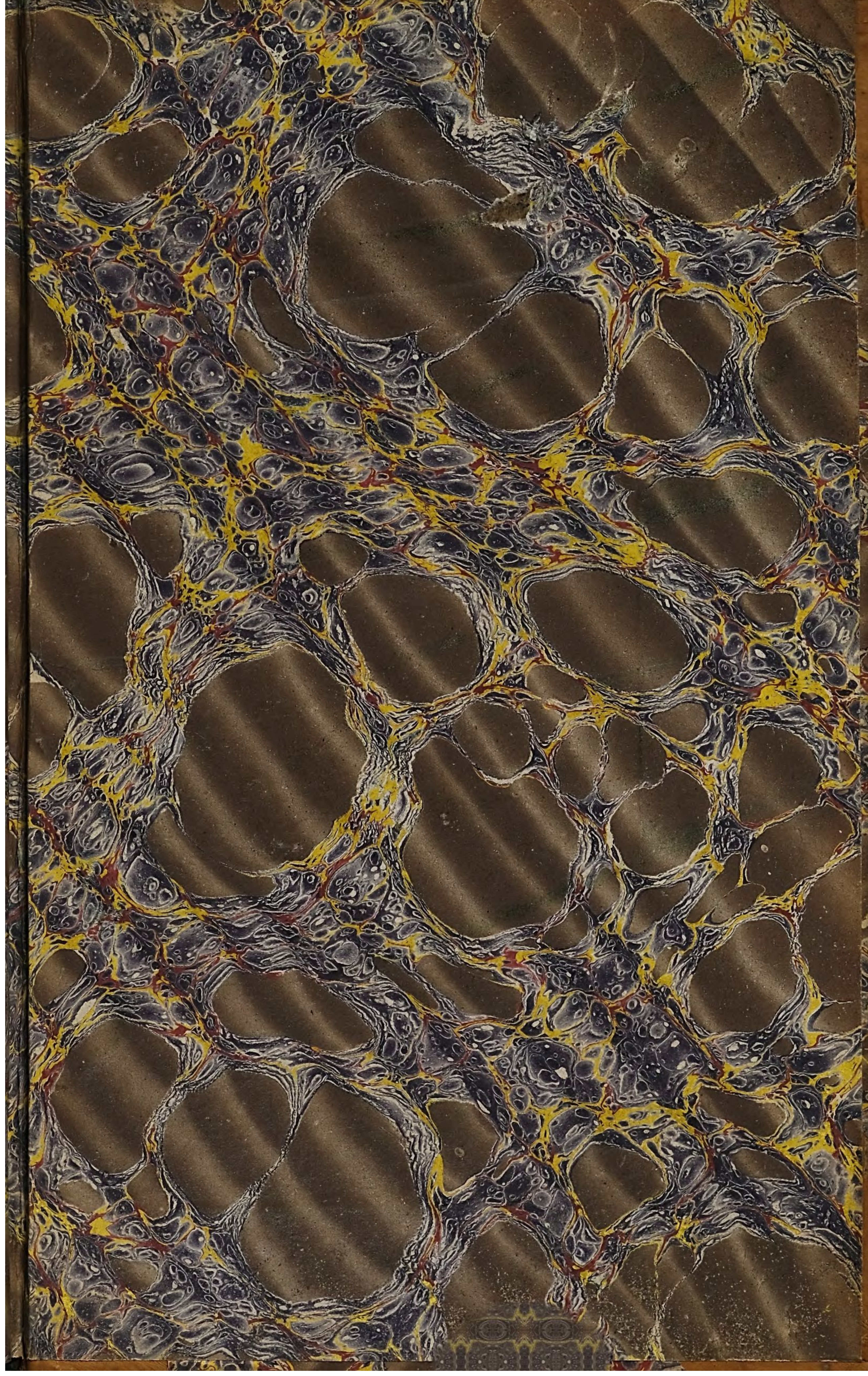
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THE END.









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